

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1817.

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Art. I. *Christian Essays* : By the Reverend Samuel Charles Wilks, A. M. of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 2 vols. Price 14s. Baldwin and Co. 1817.

**THE** Church of Christ has passed through successive ages under widely different circumstances. Would it be going too far to say, that the condition most natural to her, in this 'evil world,' is as that of the 'bush burning but not consumed?' that her appropriate dwelling is the shelter of 'dens and caves of the earth;' and that she is then the most suitably vested, when 'sheep skins and goats' skins' are her clothing? It is at least under these circumstances, that Christianity has produced all its 'twelve manner of fruit,' and shewn most unquestionably that it is a plant from above.

But for a long period, the Church, no where visible as a collected body, but like the seven thousand of Israel, reserved by sovereign grace amid surrounding corruption, has consisted of scattered individuals whose piety, appearing where it did, has been the most striking illustration of the truth, that "with God nothing is impossible." Lights they were, indeed, but so obscured were their own minds by ignorance and prejudice, that, had it been at once presented to them without extraordinary teachings from above, they would probably have shrunk back with horror at the aspect of Christianity itself, such as it was left to the world by the Apostles.

In our own country, for a considerable length of time, and up to a date not very distant, the knowledge and consistent profession of true religion were, as we will venture to assert, *almost* confined within the enclosures of two or three reviled sects, and every expedient was resorted to,—outrage according to law, and outrage according to no law,—which might hedge the hated contagion within the spots already incurably contaminated.

But in these days, all bounds have been overpast, all partitions have been thrown down, religion, the religion of the *Bible*, has abounded under dividing names; it has appeared with a frequency that attracts attention in every rank among us: "The sign of the Son of Man" *has* been seen in the *Heavens*; and

the many, who can see goodness only when it is well dressed, have been brought to do an homage to the very thing upon which they have long been accustomed to trample. We question indeed if the truth has not at present a greater chance of being listened to with respect, or, at least, whether it has not a *wider* opportunity of being heard, than at any time since the early days of the Reformation, when princes, and nobles, and great captains, were heard to quote the Bible, and to defer to its authority, and when many of them seemed to think the Gospel worthy even of *their* acceptance. Compared with times that are past, an unusual number of circumstances appear tending at present to bring the unthinking or little-thinking mass within the reach of a vivifying influence. The kingdom of darkness stands exposed on many sides to the beams of day. But as a concomitant effect of these circumstances, those eternally distinct parties, the World and the Church, are undergoing a kind of amalgamation in which the peculiar and stronger features of both are somewhat softened down. The world is civil, conceding, complimentary, and professing. The Church is pleased with the concession, and willing to hope well of the profession, but grieved, (and the more as she has the opportunity of knowing more,) at the 'evil manners' of her new acquaintance, and often perplexed with the difficulty of drawing the line between zeal and prudence, in improving the golden moments of the world's good will.

A question therefore of the first moment is pressed upon the attention of serious Christians, by the peculiar circumstances of the times. Under what impression, and by what plan of address, shall they be most likely, as far as the means are concerned, to improve the concessions towards religion, of a large class of persons, who, while they acknowledge a form of words, are essentially erroneous in principle, and far removed in spirit and temper from any thing that would allow the hope that they are Christians? It will not for a moment be imagined that we are here putting in question the *means* of bringing men to repentance, with those who are not convinced that the proclamation of peace with God, through the sacrifice of his Son, is the only thing that will ever turn a sinner from the error of his way;—with such persons we have not now to do;—but those who are agreed upon this essential article, and who are equally anxious for the result, may differ materially in the point they fix upon, in that space that separates worldly prudence from unwise zeal. To treat such a question would obviously lead us out far beyond our limits, and we shall content ourselves at present with directing the attention of those persons who, like Mr. Wilks, are expressly aiming at the conviction of nominal Christians, towards a subject, in their views of which we think there is an



observable deficiency with many writers and teachers of religion in our day, arising in great measure, as we imagine, from that sort of artificial *truce* between the World and the Church, to which we have referred.

We consider then, that in a time of widely spread nominal Christianity, and of general lax profession, the line of conduct the most *seasonable* on the part of serious Christians, is, not simply that they should "testify of the truth," but that in doing so, they should invariably make the highest assertion of the claims of the Gospel in general, and rest with undiverted firmness upon those *particular declarations* of Scripture, which seem placed there on purpose to straiten the narrow way, and to furnish the direct and infallible means of detecting a heartless and empty profession.

And we are decidedly of opinion, that those calculations which would suggest the adoption of a lower *tone*, while the truth is still maintained, from the apprehension of losing entirely the opportunity of doing good, are unfounded; and even if they were not, that to act upon them would be inconsistent with the simplicity of faith, and is in fact a course that can stop no where till every thing essential is conceded.

Perhaps there is no definition that would apply more generally and exclusively to the highest order of Christians, than this, that they are *those who believe every word of the Divine testimony*. And as to inferior Christians, the supposition that they are such, implies of course, that they believe and obey so far as is essential to their escaping the "wrath to come;" but with respect to a large portion of that which is revealed for our instruction, it is quite overlooked: if it be presented to them, if it be urged upon them, they seek only how they may evade the inference that follows directly from the plain and proper sense of the words; they turn on every side in search of pleas of mitigation, and as the illumination of truth, where it is resisted, is transient as the glare of a meteor, though it be as the sun in the heavens to those who rejoice in the light, a reason is easily found that will hold together till the flash is past, and the mind presently returns to its comfortable twilight. But to descend to those who are Christians *only* in name; though they profess to believe the Bible as a whole, they, in fact, believe none of its parts, and they require therefore to be shewn, that they are *unbelievers*, and exposed to the judgement declared against those who reject the testimony of God.

We say then, that it is peculiarly incumbent upon those who address themselves to such persons, that they bring their own minds up to the highest point of conviction as to the certainty and authority of every particular declaration of Scripture; and that they take care that in their full and proper sense they re-

ceive *all* those words, to each of which an infinite consequence is attached. And in their addresses to others this comprehensive faith, this impressive persuasion concerning every *iota*, that it shall be fulfilled, will give to their words a weight, (we are speaking only of the means,) that will carry them down into the consciences of men, with a convincing, or an intolerable force. It is found that men will bear to hear of the claims of the Bible in general; but unless they are Christians, unless indeed they are Christians who have well learned the lesson of humility, they will not bear that this claim should be urged upon its *single* declarations. The Bible is the word of God: no doubt. But, "if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he *cannot* be my disciple." These are hard sayings; who can hear them?

That which is presented with timidity, is likely to be rejected with contempt. If one half of the message, (for instance, its supreme and unbending claims,) be conceded or concealed, to meet the disinclination of those to whom it is delivered, those to whom it is delivered will learn at least that the message is a thing that may be halved; and they will soon be bold to confess, that the one half of it suits them as little as the other.

We believe that in the instance of some writers and teachers, the habit of calculating too much upon the probable result of their efforts, though it may not go so far as to make them conceal or disguise the truth, gives them perpetually an air of hesitation in asserting and insisting upon its sovereign claims; and thus the previous fear operates directly as a negative cause of the neglect, or of the rejection it had anticipated.

There is no true courage without calmness; and there is no calmness like that which is the result of *knowledge*. And here we think we can again trace the disadvantageous influence upon many minds, of the present external condition of the Church. In arduous times, when the relation of true Christians to those about them, is that of declared hostility, when they are expecting at every turn to meet the lion and the bear, when days of suffering and nights of fear are appointed to them, their understandings, their tempers are corroborated. In their religious opinions they build lower, they rise higher, they feel that they *want* the whole of the truth, they seek for it with the *simplicity of hunger*, they find it, for all who seek shall find, and they profess the truth, as without hope of conciliating, so without care of offending. There is no room left with them for that feeble hesitancy, that reluctance to drawing strong but inevitable conclusions; that intellectual pusillanimity, which in easier



times detains the judgements of Christians perpetually shivering in the shallows of theology. Teachers therefore thus educated, in addressing those whom they would designate by no softer terms than such as they had learned from Paul and Peter, would boldly enforce what they boldly declare, and that in the *deepened tone* that results from the persuasion that "their word *shall prosper to the end for which it is sent*;" and their faith is but confirmed by the anticipated consequence: "The wise understand, but none of the wicked do understand." When Gabriel descends to our world upon some errand of mercy, could we observe his cheerful flight, every movement would signify the fulness of his confidence, that the intended benefit, however apparently suspended upon conditions and contingencies, shall actually be enjoyed by the objects of his mission. But when the opinions are deficient, or vague, or unsettled, upon the important parts of the Christian system to which we make an allusion, there will be a constant disposition to calculate results upon *natural principles*, to the disparagement of that wisdom which is from above; and the mind will suffer in its Christian simplicity, and in its self-possession, from an anxiety that would be proper only if we were responsible for the effect, as well as for the endeavour.

It would, however, be an act of great injustice to Mr. Wilks, were we to allow our readers to imagine, from the nature of the preceding remarks, that he is chargeable with the attempt to compromise the doctrines of the Gospel, with the view of conciliating those whom he would gain. We may safely say that his *Essays* are decidedly evangelical, and we have pleasure in adding, that they indicate a serious spirit, an impression of the importance of his subject, and a desire to *do good*. But yet we must confess we have felt a dissatisfaction in the perusal of these volumes, the nature of which may be gathered from the observations we have taken this occasion to make. Though Mr. W. appears to understand, and fully to appreciate the remedy, he seems deficient, (not, we dare say, as a matter of *doctrine*, but rather of impression,) in his estimate of the inveterate and insidious character of the disease. Throughout we have wished that his statements had been corroborated, that his attempts to expose and to dissipate fallacious hopes, had been carried much farther home, so as to have left less possibility of continued deception. And particularly we have regretted, that in several instances, the passages of Scripture adduced in support of his positions, are not the most striking that might have been brought forward, nor those which are the least easily evaded, and that too little use is made of those hard and intolerable sayings, with which the *Divine wisdom* has furnished us for the express purpose of exposing the hypocrite, and con-

victing the self-deceived. We would rather that he had lashed his deluded reader into avowed irreligion, than merely chastised him into the feigned acknowledgement, that he is not quite so *good* a Christian as he ought to be.

Even had he not placed the respected name of Mrs. Hannah More, in the front of his work, Mr. Wilks would not have been surprised that his '*Christian Essays*' should recall it to our recollection: he labours upon much the same field, but we will not say directly as an imitator of that very eminent and useful writer.

The *Essays* are on the following subjects: Sources of Error in Opinion—Full Assurance of Understanding—Full Assurance of Faith—Full Assurance of Hope—Christian Obedience—The Form, and the Power of Religion—True, and False Repose in Death—False Modesty in Religion—The Duty of Christian Affection between Ministers and their Flock—Comparative View of Natural and Revealed Religion. We must pass over the observations we might have made upon particular passages, and give our readers a specimen of the volumes. We extract the following passage from the essay on '*The Full Assurance of Faith*.'

'To renounce ourselves,—to conquer all the natural ideas of the fallen mind relative to the attainment of Heaven; to trust to the mercy of God conveyed to us solely through Jesus Christ, not for any worthiness in ourselves, but gratuitously on account of his own sovereign favour and loving-kindness,—to rely as humble penitents upon the Saviour of mankind for the application of his obedience and merits to us, as our claim to pardon, justification, and eternal glory, with a firm belief that such reliance will not be in vain,—all this, however difficult, however apparently humiliating, however opposed to the natural suggestions of the unrenewed mind, seems to be included in the scriptural idea of the full assurance of faith. It cannot therefore excite wonder that so exalted a principle should suppose as exalted an agent, or that an apostle should in consequence affirm, that "faith is the gift of God." Ignorance may vaguely depend upon the divine mercy, because it does not perceive the heinousness of sin, or estimate aright the justice of God in decreeing its punishment;—presumption may arrogantly hope to obtain Heaven, because it magnifies our supposed excellence, and extenuates our real guilt, till it has formed such a character as it imagines deserves the Creator's approbation;—but for the humble penitent, feeling and acknowledging on the one hand his inherent depravity, his actual transgressions, and his utter unworthiness, (all which will appear more aggravated as his repentance is more profound,)—and perceiving on the other the infinite holiness and inflexible integrity of the Creator, who has inseparably appended misery to sin,—for a person thus penitent and thus instructed, possessing a tender conscience with an enlightened understanding, to enjoy the full assurance of faith, is a paradox resolvable only on the principles of the Christian revelation.



Faith and hope thus implanted where, humanly speaking, despair appeared inevitable, evince themselves to be indeed the gift of God.' p. 90.

On the subject of worldly amusements, Mr. Wilks says,

' Were we always to live in the full assurance of faith, the most trivial occurrences of life would be consecrated by its influence ; but " whatsoever is not of faith is sin," so that every pursuit on which we cannot consistently expect the divine blessing becomes a crime. The true Christian desires not any stronger argument against questionable amusements than the words of Saint John ; " these things are not of the Father but of the world." To him who desires to live up to the spirit of his baptismal engagements this Apostle could urge no stronger objection against the world than that it is worldly ; as Saint Paul in describing the malignity of sin, says only that it is " exceeding sinful." p. 108.

Perhaps from the impression which remains upon our minds from the perusal of his first publication, and we will add from many indications in the present volumes, we have strongly the idea, that these *Essays* do not exhibit what Mr. Wilks could do if he were to expend more of time and of effort upon writing ; or to use plain terms, that he might have done much better had he taken more pains. Sometimes, from the extensiveness of an author's connexions, or his situation in life, or his having already gained a portion of the public attention, the temptation to *publish* is disadvantageously strong. Something, enough to make up one volume, or two volumes, is *written off* under the influence of the most ill-boding of all evil stars, the presumption of success ; and as effects are as their causes, the result is that he does not succeed.

Now, we have to complain of many paragraphs in these volumes, that they appear to have cost Mr. Wilks *too little*. Unmeaning expressions, inappropriate and very trite illustrations, are too frequent. We believe we hazard nothing in saying, that the best writers are those who take the most pains, and that no man, whatever his powers may be, who does not always endeavour to do as well as he can, aye, and we might almost say, better than he can, will ever write well.

However far we might go in our estimate of any writer's native powers of mind, we should still recommend him to act upon a supposition that will render it at least highly desirable, that when he writes—and *prints* it, he should do his *best*.

Art. II. *The History of the Church of Scotland; from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution: illustrating a most interesting Period of the Political History of Britain.* By George Cook, D.D. Minister of Laurencekirk. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1457. Longman and Co. 1815.

**H**ISTORY, while, in its exhibition of the origin and progress of human society, the successive improvements in the arts of government and living, the workings of human interests, passions, vices, and virtues, it offers to the mind an entertaining and truly magnificent spectacle, is also the easiest, the most agreeable, and a certain mode of acquiring useful knowledge. Experience instructs at great expense, sometimes of virtue, usually of enjoyment. The most extensive observation is comparatively narrow, and affords not examples sufficiently numerous to prevent erroneous conclusions. In acquiring knowledge by the means of history, we do not expose even the most delicate moral sentiments to rudeness, while we multiply innocent pleasures. The field under view is amply extensive; so many examples occur as to prevent the groundless inferences that might be drawn from a few; and a multitude of useful observations that would never otherwise have been suggested, arise from the varying aspect of human affairs, human society, and human manners.

The subject of the present volumes abounds with various and striking incidents, which are intimately connected with the most signal revolutions in British history, and are pregnant with salutary lessons. Valuable and copious materials are accessible. To counterbalance these advantages, however, the whole period exhibits a scene of controversy; the events of it having been differently represented by parties still in existence, who imagine that their own reputation is concerned in the colouring assumed by the transactions of past ages. On this account, we own, we are glad that Dr. Cook has undertaken to narrate the affairs of the Scottish Church, during the time of its greatest convulsions. His qualifications for this delicate task, were fully displayed in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*;<sup>\*</sup> of which the present work may properly be deemed the sequel. With diligence and accuracy, the fundamental virtues of an historian, judgement in combining the events that he records, and penetration in tracing them to their proper causes, Dr. Cook discovers a singular superiority to the prejudices of faction. He has treated all parties with most exemplary candour and moderation; doing ample justice to their merits and virtues, and exposing with becoming severity their follies, vices, and crimes.

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\* See Eclectic Review: Old Series: Jan. and Feb. 1812.



Throughout the work, which is written in a style at once clear, elegant, and flowing, are diffused sentiments of humanity, freedom, and piety.

Although the doctrine introduced into Scotland by the Reformers, has, with little variation, continued to be the national faith the polity of the Scottish Church has been subject to great mutations. Of these changes, which it is the object of the present history to detail, we shall endeavour to present our readers a succinct account.

When the Parliament of 1560, gave its sanction to the Confession of Faith drawn up by the reformed teachers, the most eminent of them were requested to frame a plan for the government of the new church. Knox and his associates, thinking that the Scriptures had in a great measure left the form and discipline of the Church to be determined by circumstances, described, in the First Book of Discipline, a platform of ecclesiastical polity, holding a middle place between episcopacy and presbytery. According to this plan, every parish was to be provided with a *pastor* to instruct the people, and administer the sacraments; *ruling elders* to assist the pastor in exercising church discipline; and *deacons* to manage the revenues of the church and the poor. These offices were generally conferred by the suffrages of the people, and persons were admitted to them, after examination, by prayer and exhortation. The kingdom was divided into provinces, which were entrusted to the care of superintendants authorized to preach in any part of them, to establish new churches, and to inspect the conduct of the ecclesiastical officers in their respective districts. The affairs of separate congregations were conducted by the ministers, elders, and deacons, who constituted the church session, and those of the provinces by the superintendants with a delegation from the pastors and elders within their jurisdiction; while the General Assembly, consisting of pastors and elders from all parts of the kingdom, exercised control over the whole national church. A plan was likewise proposed, for enlightening the community, by establishing schools in every parish, and colleges in the large towns, and appropriating the riches of the hierarchy to the support of the new teachers, the education of youth, and the relief of the poor. As this last part of the Book of Discipline was peculiarly offensive to the nobles and gentry who had seized on the spoils of the religious foundations, or expected to share the revenues of the church that were untouched, when the work was presented for the sanction of the nobility and barons, they contemptuously rejected it as altogether visionary. The mercenary motives which, they perceived, actuated their adherents, filled the ministers with indignation and regret; but though they were disappointed, and were without any regular provision for

their support, they diligently discharged the duties of their office, and proceeded with alacrity to carry into effect so much of their religious polity, as depended on themselves. They appointed superintendants, held general assemblies, and took vigorous measures to extirpate entirely the remains of the ancient superstition.

Meanwhile, they ceased not to urge their claims to provision for their maintenance, which, as they were so evidently founded in justice, it was impossible decently to disregard. It was accordingly determined that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts, two parts to be retained by the Popish incumbents, the third to be assigned to the queen, on condition of affording a sufficient subsistence to the reformed teachers. This arrangement, though highly advantageous to the Catholic incumbents, who, as their offices were abolished, were likely to be entirely stripped of their revenues, was little adapted to satisfy the ministers; since the stipends in consequence allotted them, were extremely scanty, and irregularly paid. The remonstrances of the General Assembly, in June 1566, induced the Court to grant money and grain to supply the urgent necessities of the preachers. On the accession of Murray to the regency, in the subsequent year, and the final establishment of the reformed faith, they conceived hopes of meliorating their condition; but the difficulties with which Murray had at first to struggle, and his unfortunate assassination when he had composed the distractions of the nation, frustrated their expectations. To gain the concurrence of the reformers to the elevation of James to the throne, it had been stipulated to restore the patrimony of the church. As the most powerful of the king's party shewed no disposition to fulfil this condition, the General Assembly of August, 1571, appointed several of the most respectable of the clergy, to represent their grievances to Parliament. The regent Lenox favoured the claims of the ministers; but Morton, who shared largely in the plunder of the church, and anticipated new acquisitions, defeated their application. Though this indecent and impolitic treatment of the preachers, was adapted to alienate their minds from the Government, as they considered the preservation of the king's authority to be essential to the security of the national liberty as well as the reformed religion, they discovered a zealous and unshaken loyalty. Far from attempting to better their circumstances by means incompatible with the discharge of their duty, they enacted that no minister should hold a plurality of benefices, or engage in secular employment. The pecuniary difficulties which harassed the reformed teachers, concurred, with other causes, to suggest the expediency of modifying the ecclesiastical constitution. From an early period the ecclesiastical state had formed a part of the national



council, and though Catholic bishops were prohibited the exercise of their clerical functions, they still retained their seats in parliament. The decrease of many of them, made it likely that the spiritual branch of the legislature would become extinct; and it was apprehended that, if this were the case, those acts which had, during the minority of the king, been passed to secure both the religion and the liberty of the nation, might be deemed illegal. An attempt to obviate this inconvenience, by appointing to the vacant sees nominal prelates, with the privilege of meeting with the states, as it was subversive of ecclesiastical rights, excited such opposition as to induce the regent Mar to think of a different arrangement.

More interested motives swayed a number of the nobility, and rendered them eager for new modelling the ecclesiastical polity. The Earl of Morton had succeeded in obtaining from the Regent the ample revenues which had been enjoyed by the archbishops of St. Andrews, and many of his order anticipated similar grants. This gift, however, it was evident, was illegal. The patrimony of the see could in no sense be considered as having been forfeited; and it was apparent that if, from any change of affairs, episcopacy should be restored, the prelates would have an undoubted claim, not only to recover the annual rents of the benefice, but to prosecute those by whom the revenue had, without the authority of a regular Parliament, been appropriated. To guard against this, the most effectual expedient seemed to be to restore the order of bishops; to appropriate, with their concurrence, a certain part of the original patrimony to each of the sees, and to convey, by a formal statute, the remainder to the nobility by whom it had been seized. In this way, the best possible right that, in the circumstances of the case, could exist, would be created; and, what probably had still more force, it was not unnaturally imagined, that, if the bishops were satisfied with what was assigned to them, no new investigation into the state of ecclesiastical wealth would be instituted, but the church would, in all time coming, be considered as having received an ample provision, and as having abandoned its claim to the immense possessions of the popish hierarchy. To these mercenary considerations, on the part of the nobility, the zealous ministers ascribed the change of polity which soon was introduced, and a contemptuous appellation, originating from this opinion, was applied to the bishops who were first appointed.

The clergy were, upon different grounds, equally desirous with the nobles, that there should be some modification of the form of church government. The original form, admirable as it in many respects was, had never been universally acceptable. Deviating very far from what had long been the general sentiments with regard to ecclesiastical polity, there were not wanting some who wished that it should be calmly revised, and the expediency of such a revision was increased by the opposition which the council had uniformly made to a great part of the first book of discipline. But the chief objection to the scheme proposed in that book, arose from the conviction that

it presented the most formidable obstacles to the comfort and the independence which the ministers were naturally anxious to secure. The poverty which shackled their efforts and harassed their feelings, far from being removed, continued to press upon them with unabated severity; and venerable as were the superintendants, no hope could be entertained that men, struggling with want, would be willing to succeed to an office which required the most arduous exertion, and was attended with expence, which could be defrayed only from the private fortunes of those by whom it was filled. There was even some reason for apprehending that the little which they had hitherto received would be diminished or taken away. If the possessions of convents, and of the different orders of the regular clergy, had been vested in the crown, because these convents and these orders no longer existed, the same argument might be urged with equal force for assigning to the laity the revenues of the prelates under the Popish establishment; for as they had not been succeeded by men vested with the episcopal character, there were none entitled to what had been appropriated to the bishops of the Romish communion.

‘ There was another consideration which also had great weight with the Protestant clergy. It was impossible for them not to be sensible how important it was to their interest to be represented in Parliament. Without this they could not directly influence the decisions of that Assembly, and in the unsettled state of the church, measures in the highest degree prejudicial to its welfare might be adopted. From these causes, although they were sensible that the lords entertained views not favourable to a liberal provision for the ministers, they were anxious that the expediency of introducing a new system of polity should be maturely weighed, trusting that the independence of the clergy would thus be secured, and that they might rely upon the representatives of their own order obtaining enough to remove the apprehension or the experience of pecuniary embarrassment.’ pp. 170—173.

As all parties so generally concurred in favour of revising the ecclesiastical constitution, a convention having the force of a general assembly, met at Leith, Jan. 12th, 1572, and after mature deliberation agreed

‘ “ 1. That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, or the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue, in time coming, as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the King’s Majesty’s minority, or consent of parliament. 2. That the archbishoprics and bishoprics vacant should be conferred on men endowed, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the examples of Paul to Timothy and Titus. 3. That, to all archbishoprics and bishoprics that should become vacant, qualified persons should be presented within a year and day after the vacancy took place, and those nominated to be thirty years of age at the least. 4. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses. 5. That abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, presented to benefices, should be tried as to their qualification and their aptness to give voice in parliament by the bishop or superintendant of



the bounds, and upon their collation should be admitted to the benefice, but not otherwise. 6. That the elections of persons presented to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches; and because the chapters of divers churches were possessed by men provided before his Majesty's coronation, who bore no office in the church, that a particular nomination of ministers should be made in every diocese, to supply their rooms until the benefice should fall void. 7. That all benefices with cure under prelacies, should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others. 8. That ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, and, where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendent of the bounds. 9. That the bishops and superintendants, at the ordination of ministers, should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things."

'In addition to these regulations there were several others of much importance, ascertaining the nature and extent of the powers with which the bishops were to be invested. It was agreed that all archbishops and bishops hereafter to be admitted, should exercise no farther jurisdiction in spiritual function than the superintendants exercised; that they were to be subject to the church in spiritual matters, as to the king in those that were temporal; and that they should consult some of the most learned of the chapter, not fewer than six, with regard to the admission of such as were to have function in the church.' Vol. I. pp. 175—176.

Knox, who was so exhausted by age and infirmities, as to be prevented from taking an active part in these arrangements, at last, after some difficulties, acquiesced, in a letter to the General Assembly, in the projected changes. Of the last days of this extraordinary man, whose death took place at the close of this year, Dr. Cook has given a very interesting account, and has delineated his character with great impartiality and judgement.

The new scheme of religious polity was speedily carried into effect; but it seems from the first to have been viewed with suspicion and fear. The members of the General Assembly, in which it was confirmed, protested that the articles to which they agreed, 'were received only till farther and more perfect order might be obtained at the hand of the King's Majesty's Regent, and the nobility.' As the innovation was so plainly owing to the desire of the courtiers to possess themselves of the riches of the church, those who were appointed to the vacant sees, were contemptuously styled *tulchan*\* bishops. In the first general assembly after the appointment of the bishops, a parochial clergyman was chosen to preside in the presence of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and no authority was allowed the bishops. This jealousy of episcopacy was by various causes soon ripened into an opposition too vigorous to be resisted.

\* A *tulchan* is a calf's skin stuffed with straw, to be presented to a cow to induce her to give milk freely.

The avarice of Morton who endeavoured by the most oppressive expedients to increase his immense riches, began to prey on the reformed teachers.

‘ By various acts of the legislature, the thirds of the revenues of benefices were set apart for the clergy, upon condition of their paying a certain proportion for the support of the King’s household. These thirds were collected by men appointed by the superintendants, who, according to certain regulations, distributed the amount amongst the different classes of public instructors. One great inconvenience resulted from this arrangement. Stipends were not allocated, as it is termed in Scotch law,—that is, made payable from the parishes in which those who received them officiated; but it was necessary to wait upon the superintendants, and to submit to what, from the repeated complaints of the ministers, appears to have been attended with much inconvenience. The Regent, taking advantage of this circumstance, proposed that the thirds should be collected by him, promising that he would immediately fix the stipend of each parish, and would establish a mode of payment which would exempt the ministers from trouble; and, in order to remove all suspicions, he assured them that, if the scheme was not found advantageous to the church, the thirds should be placed on the footing upon which they had been before. He thus succeeded in getting the command of this large revenue, and he soon disclosed the motives by which, in doing so, he had been guided. Far from rendering the payment of stipends more easy, he often refused to pay at all, and the clergy were compelled to waste their time at court in the most distressing, and not unfrequently fruitless solicitations. To lessen the sum requisite for providing religious instruction, he united many parishes, appointing one minister to do the duty of several churches; he gave to the readers a trifling pittance, and even treated with the utmost harshness the venerable superintendants, the fathers of the Protestant establishment in Scotland. When representations were made to him for the payment of their salaries, he contemptuously replied, that, as bishops had been introduced, any other superior order was useless, and he diminished what had been constantly allotted to them.’ Vol. I. pp. 234, 235.

This impolitic conduct of the Regent, deprived him of the confidence of the ministers, and led them to think of introducing such changes into the ecclesiastical constitution, as would exempt them from servile dependence on Government, and enable them effectually to limit the prerogatives of the Crown.

‘ About this critical period, when the slightest spark was sufficient to kindle the most alarming flame, Andrew Melvil, whose name holds so conspicuous a place in the history of his country, arrived in Scotland. This eminent man was descended from a respectable family, and was born, in the year 1545, at Baldovie, in the neighbourhood of Montrose. He received the elements of his education at the school of that town,—he completed, with high applause, a course of philosophy at St. Andrews,—and he afterwards studied for some time



at the university of Paris, the reputation of which was diffused over Europe. Having gone to Poitiers, he filled, for a few years, a professor's chair in the college, and when, upon the place being besieged, the students were dispersed, he was received into the family of a man of rank, as the preceptor of his only son. His pupil having been accidentally killed in the course of the siege, he left Poitiers and came to Geneva, the seat of ecclesiastical reformation. He was appointed professor of humanity, a decisive proof that his early reputation for science and learning had not diminished; and he listened with admiration and conviction to the principles respecting church government which Calvin inculcated, and which were enforced with fiercer zeal by Beza, the illustrious disciple of that great reformer,—a man of vast erudition, who devoted his talents to the illustration of the Scriptures, and who had imbibed, or formed the opinion, that these Scriptures were directly hostile to that episcopacy which had for many ages contaminated, as he had brought himself to believe, the church of Christ. The fame of Melvil made a deep impression upon the Bishop of Brechin, who happened to visit Geneva, and, convinced that his abilities would be of much service to the cause of religion in Scotland, he earnestly requested him to renounce the situation which he held, and to visit his native land. He felt that desire to comply which the associations of his youth so naturally tended to create, but he found much difficulty in obtaining permission, and when this was at length granted, Beza wrote with him to the General Assembly, bearing the strongest testimony to his piety and his literary attainments, and added, “that the greatest token of affection the church and university of Geneva could shew to Scotland was, that they had suffered themselves to be robbed of Mr. Andrew Melvil, that the church of Scotland might be enriched.” This letter which was delivered to the General Assembly which met in August, raised the expectations of the clergy with regard to Melvil. He was solicited to settle at St. Andrews, but, in consequence of the intreaties of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he received the important situation of principal in the university of that city.’ Vol. I. 241—243.

On his arrival Melvil assiduously diffused his principles among the leading men of the church; and having induced Dewry, a minister of Edinburgh, and a man respectable from his uprightness and candour, to broach the subject in the General Assembly of August, 1575, he seized the opportunity, as if accidentally presented, to expose his views of church polity.

‘He expatiated upon the flourishing state of the church at Geneva, —explained the views of ecclesiastical polity which had been sanctioned by Calvin and Beza, men deservedly held in estimation throughout the Protestant world; and having thus prepared his audience, he affirmed, that none ought to be office-bearers in the church, whose titles were not found in the book of God,—that, though the appellation of bishop was used in Scripture, it was not to be understood in the sense usually affixed to it, there being no superiority amongst ministers allowed by Christ,—that Jesus was the only Lord of the church, all his servants being equal in degree and in power,—

and that the corruptions which had crept into the state of bishops, were so great, that, unless they were removed, it could neither go well with the church, nor could religion be preserved in purity.' Vol. I. pp. 248, 249.

Six persons, of whom Melvil was one, were appointed to discuss the lawfulness of episcopacy; and though they came not to the conclusions that Melvil wished, he gained considerable ground. No reply having been made to his discourse by the prelates or superintendants, his zeal and eloquence left a deep impression on the minds of men discontented and desirous of innovation. Accordingly, when Melvil proposed the subject to the next assembly it was enacted that the bishops should take the charge of particular congregations. The agitation in the church escaped not the regent Morton. He requested Melvil to be one of his chaplains, and offered him a rich benefice on condition of desisting from opposing prelacy. The offer was at once rejected. The Regent, though desirous of preserving episcopacy, being provoked by the Assembly, who, to shew their authority, but under pretence of having dilapidated his benefice, had deposed the bishop of Dunkeld, gave them the choice of abiding by the present, or framing a new form of church-government. The innovators eagerly embraced this apparent permission to digest their opinions into what was called the *Second Book of Discipline*. The result being laid before Morton, as he was unwilling to retract what he had said, he delayed the completion of the work by starting difficulties. After repeated discussions, protracted through successive assemblies, the ministers concurred in a scheme, just about the time that Morton resigned the regency; an event which gave the presbyterians a vast advantage, since the vigour of Government was greatly impaired by the parties who contended for the favour of the young king. A deputation from the Assembly was ordered to present the system of polity to the king and his council; but though a favourable answer was returned, and Parliament appointed several of its members to confer with the commissioners of the Assembly, they came to no agreement; the courtiers objecting to those articles that seemed to interfere with the prerogatives of the Crown.

The scheme of polity thus presented to the King and Parliament was the work of much labour and anxious deliberation. It was maturely discussed by successive Assemblies; it was repeatedly altered and corrected; and it may be considered as containing the most authentic detail of the opinions and practices which Melvil was labouring to introduce. Much of it is nearly the same with the *First Book of Discipline*, but it is necessary to mention the leading points in which it differed from what Knox and the early reformers had composed and sanctioned. It is divided into thirteen chapters, each



of which is devoted to a particular branch of the ecclesiastical constitution. At the commencement, it distinguishes between the civil and the spiritual power; affirms that Christ alone can be properly styled the head of the church, and that they who bear office in it ought not to usurp dominion, or to be called lords, but ministers, disciples, and servants; that the magistrate ought to assist, maintain, and fortify, the jurisdiction of the church; that ministers should assist princes in all things consistent with Scripture; and that, as ministers are subject to the punishment and judgment of magistrates in external things, magistrates ought to submit themselves to the discipline of the church, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion. In the chapter which treats of the general polity of the church, and of the persons to whom the administration of it should be committed, a line is drawn between the clergy and the laity; the different kinds of ministers are enumerated; it is observed, that, for avoiding tyranny, they should rule with mutual consent of brethren, and equality of power; that there are four ordinary offices or functions in the church of God, the minister or bishop, the doctor, the presbyter or elder, and the deacon; that no more offices should be suffered in the true church; and that therefore all ambitious titles, invented in the kingdom of Antichrist, and his usurped hierarchy, which are not comprehended under these four, ought to be rejected. It is asserted that there is an extraordinary and an ordinary call to enter on the ministry,—the former proceeding from God himself, and exemplified in the case of the apostles and prophets,—the latter consisting in the approbation of men according to the order established, without which it is not lawful for any person to meddle in any ecclesiastical function; that this approbation comprehends election and ordination,—the choice of a particular person by the eldership and congregation, and the setting apart of this person, after proper trial, by prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the eldership; that all the office-bearers thus called should have their particular flocks, should reside amongst them, superintend them, and take only such titles as are to be found in Scripture. This subject is more particularly discussed in a subsequent chapter, in which it is declared that pastors, bishops, or ministers, are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over which they watch; in respect whereof they are sometimes called pastors, because they feed their congregations; sometimes episcopi or bishops, because they watch over their flocks; sometimes ministers, by reason of their service or office; sometimes also presbyters, or seniors, for the gravity of manners which they ought to have, as taking care of the spiritual government, which should be most dear to them. The duties of ministers are then distinctly specified. Doctors are those who explain the Scriptures without making practical applications as the pastor; and under this class is comprehended the order in colleges and universities, which, it is said, ought to be carefully maintained. Elders are mentioned as a perpetual order in a Christian church, whose duty it is to assist the pastor in preserving a regard to religion and morality amongst the people; to admonish men of their duties; and principally

to hold assemblies with the pastors and doctors, to which assemblies all persons are subject that remain within the bounds assigned to the ministers who compose these assemblies. A most interesting chapter follows, delineating the constitution of a presbyterian church, and, of course, exhibiting that polity which was designed for Scotland. Elderships, it is said, are commonly constituted of pastors, doctors, and such as are usually called elders, who labour not in word and doctrine. The powers and duties of these elderships are enumerated, and the views of the Assembly with regard to them are thus summed up: It belongs to them to cause the ordinances made by superior assemblies to be put in execution, and to make constitutions for the decent order of the particular churches which they govern, provided they alter not rules made by the higher assemblies. This is evidently the court to which the name of presbytery was afterwards appropriated, and from which the Scottish church has received its appellation.

‘Synods and General Assemblies are then appointed, and their provinces defined.’ Vol. I. pp. 283—286.

The innovators had taken great pains to prepossess the nation in their favour, by representing the polity that they wished to establish, as plainly founded on Scripture, and inseparable from the purity of the reformed faith. Though they were severely disappointed that their form of discipline had not received the sanction of the legislature, they resolved to proceed against the prelates. They abolished the title of bishops, and required the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's to submit to the General Assembly. The archbishop of Glasgow having, with becoming dignity, resisted this usurpation, Melvil, with others of his faction, was commissioned to urge his submission. The subsequent extract shews the spirit of the men.

‘Melvil, in execution of the commission which had been given to him, incessantly urged the prelate to submission, threatening, if he did not comply, to inflict the severest censures of the church. In one of those moments of weakness, produced by the operation of a mortal disease, the archbishop affixed his signature. The recollection of this disturbed the serenity of his mind, but the representations of one of his clergy at length soothed his anguish, and with tranquillity he met dissolution. The ingratitude of Melvil powerfully affected him. He had been his friend and his patron; he had placed him in the university of Glasgow, and bestowed on him many favours; but, although Melvil treated him in private with the utmost reverence, he in public reviled him, and he invaded his retirement, when a feeling mind should have regarded that retirement as sacred. There is nothing more painful in the investigation of the history of man, than to trace the unhappy influence of political or religious contention upon the most amiable dispositions of the heart; but the exhibition of this influence should from no motives of respect or of reverence be withheld, for it tends to convey the most salutary moral lessons, and to render history, what it should always be, the school of virtue.’ Vol. I. pp. 295, 296.



So direct an invasion of the civil authority, naturally called for the interference of Government, and a letter, in the king's name, was addressed to the next Assembly, requesting them to direct their efforts to preserve the public tranquillity, and abandon the discussion of points of discipline till the meeting of parliament. With this request no disposition was shewn to comply, which strongly prejudiced the king against the Presbyterians. Though the Parliament declined to sanction the Presbyterian discipline, yet, to gratify the ministers, all the acts which had been passed for securing the liberty of the church, were confirmed. This was far from satisfying the Presbyterians, who, confiding in the zeal of the people, were determined to carry their measures. An act was passed in the assembly of July, 1550, declaring the episcopal office to be unlawful, having no foundation in the word of God; and ordaining, under pain of excommunication, all persons who held the office, to resign it immediately, and abstain from the exercise of the clerical function, till authorized by the General Assembly. To this attack on their order no opposition was made by the prelates; the bishop of Dunblane signifying his disposition to submit. Concessions were made by the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's. The king, urged by the Duke of Lennox, who was anxious to ingratiate himself with the ministers, gave a degree of countenance to the innovations, and the Presbyterian polity was introduced. The views of the Court, however, were soon altered, and an affair occurred which embroiled the factions.

The see of Glasgow having become vacant. Lennox, bent upon the accumulation of wealth, resolved to appropriate the revenues of the bishopric, by presenting to it a person, who, for a small annual allowance would convey to him what the prelates had been accustomed to enjoy. The slightest reflection might have shewn the hazard of the attempt. but, regardless of consequences, or not allowing himself to dwell upon them, he, after in vain soliciting several of the ministers, who indignantly rejected the humiliating proposal, prevailed upon Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, to accept of the appointment. This man had previously distinguished himself by the ardent zeal with which he had defended the sentiments of Melvil, and had even declared that those of the clergy, who, from the desire of proceeding with caution, solicited an explanation of some part of the act declaring that the office of bishop was not warranted by the word of God, displayed a lukewarmness in the cause of the church, which would justify their being openly censured. Yet, before the expiration of a few months, he not only consented to be invested with the mitre, but to purchase it by concessions, from which an honourable and a religious mind should have shrunk with horror. His conduct justly called forth the strongest expressions of disapprobation from those with whom he had formerly associated; and the General Assembly took under consideration both the illegality of the

office, and the simony of which Montgomery had been guilty. When, however, they were proceeding to deliberate, they received an intimation from the King, that, although he did not object to their thus investigating the life and doctrine of Montgomery, he required them to delay proceeding against him as a bishop, till a conference upon the continuance of the episcopal order should have taken place. The Assembly, unwilling to irritate the King, appointed some of the members to meet with commissioners from his Majesty, and Melvil exhibited various charges, some of them of a most singular nature, and others displaying liberal views of church government, as a ground of proceeding in an ecclesiastical manner against the obnoxious bishop. These charges were at length referred to the Presbytery of Stirling, Montgomery being in the meantime enjoined to continue in his ministry, and to take no steps with respect to his appointment. By the Presbytery, whose jurisdiction he declined, he was suspended from the exercise of his pastoral functions, but urged by the Duke, and trusting to the active interference of the Sovereign, he paid to this no attention. More decisive steps were now taken by the ministers, who considered that the existence of the Presbyterian polity was implicated with this contest. Montgomery was summoned to appear before the Synod of Lothian, to hear the sentence which had been pronounced against him; and when the King prohibited the Synod from interfering, and summoned the members to the council, they solemnly protested, that although they had appeared, to testify their obedience to his Majesty, they did not acknowledge him or his council, as judges in a matter purely ecclesiastical. They boldly declared that they would excommunicate Montgomery; and when James said that he would not permit them, they replied, in language which, thus used, might have reminded them of the arrogance of papal dominion,—we must obey God rather than man,—one of them praying, in the royal presence, that the King might be delivered from the evil company by which he was surrounded.' Vol. I. pp. 334—336.

In defiance of the king's mandate, the Assembly excommunicated Montgomery, who was induced by the ecclesiastical censures, to make submission, and promised that, without permission from the Assembly, he would not accept of any office. From this resolution he soon departed, and having gone to Glasgow to be installed into the archiepiscopal see, he was cited before the Presbytery, to answer for his conduct. The Presbytery being enjoined by royal authority not to interfere, the moderator declared his resolution to proceed against Montgomery, and was by the chief magistrate of the city forcibly committed to prison. While this event inflamed the public mind and exasperated the factions, Balcanquell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, indulging in the coarse style of invective with which it was usual to treat public affairs in the pulpit, held up Lennox, the king's favourite, to popular odium, as an enemy of the Protestant faith. When the king requested the assembly to censure Balcanquell's



intemperate discourse, after examination they declared that the minister had delivered good and solid doctrine. Dury, who had been guilty of still greater excess, was ordered to leave the city and abstain from preaching; but appealing to the Assembly, they justified his doctrine, authorized him to preach wherever he might be placed, and advised him not to leave the city till the magistrates interposed. Dury, however, was obliged to abandon his congregation. The ministers were far from being intimidated. Melvil, with several of the most venerable reformers, was commissioned to present to the king the grievances of the church, and humbly to implore redress. When the commissioners had gained access to the king, the earl of Arran having vehemently asked who would dare sign these treasonable articles, Melvil intrepidly replied, We dare; and having affixed his own name, was followed by his associates.

The dangers to which their contest with the Court exposed the ministers, were averted by a conspiracy of the nobles, who, mortified by being excluded by favourites from offices which their birth entitled them to fill, seized the person of James, and compelled him to remove Lennox and Arran from his presence. To reconcile the nation to this act of violence, the lords, while they professed to be actuated by a pure regard to the welfare of their country, endeavoured by all means to obtain the countenance of the church. They recalled Dury, paid the utmost attention to the wishes of the General Assembly, afforded the ministers every facility for exercising their discipline, and declared that the best security against the return of Popery, was the success of the Presbyterian schemes. The ministers, on the other hand, approved of the conduct of the lords, and improved this season of freedom, to establish new presbyteries, and by different means to give stability to their ecclesiastical constitution.

The prosperity of the ministers, however, was very transient. The king soon extricated himself from the hands of the lords, and restored Arran to his confidence. The nobles being declared rebels, were obliged to leave the kingdom. The worthless Arran abused the authority that he had recovered, to gratify his avarice and revenge. His tyranny, which pressed on all classes of the community, was particularly directed against the church. Dury, accused of vindicating the persons who had seized the king, was ordered to leave Edinburgh. Melvil was summoned before the council, and though he shewed that the charge brought against him was groundless, he was next day required to submit himself and his doctrine to the king and council. He refused to comply, and was ordered to be confined in the castle of Blackness. Before the sentence was executed, he took refuge in Berwick; the ministers complaining from their pulpits that the king had extinguished the light of learning in the country,

and compelled the ablest advocate of religion to flee for his life. James, hostile to the popular genius of Presbyterianism, was resolved, by the aid of Parliament, to deprive the ministers of that freedom of discourse in which they indulged. The ministers, having acquired the information that measures inimical to their polity were to be proposed to the estates, deputed David Lindsay to express their fears to the king; but as the deputy entered the palace, he was seized and thrown into the prison of Blackness. Others who attempted to approach Parliament, were denied access. Acts having been framed, which entirely subverted the polity of the church, as it was apprehended that ministers would on the next Sunday express their mind, the magistrates of Edinburgh were ordered to silence any preacher who should disapprove the obnoxious acts.

\* To this odious office they felt much aversion, and, under a constitutional pretext, they delayed performing it till the acts had been, in the usual form, proclaimed. The ministers, thus secured against interruption, dwelt upon the danger of the church; and Robert Pont, with Balquanal, attended when the proclamation of the statutes took place, and, observing the forms prescribed by the law of Scotland, they formally, in name of the church, protested against them. Pont was for this offence deprived of his situation as a senator of the college of justice, while Balquanal and his colleague Lawson, dreading the utmost severity of punishment, with which indeed they had been threatened by Arran, left their charge and fled to Berwick.' Vol. I. pp. 382, 383.

The flight of many of the most respectable ministers, and the severities exercised against those that remained, spread a gloom over the country, and excited a general indignation among the people against the proceedings of the Court. Arran was execrated, and the king was suspected of favouring Popery. A plan was formed in concert with the English queen, in consequence of which the banished lords were restored to their country. Arran was stripped of his power and honours, and persons of rank and respectability were entrusted with the administration of affairs.

From this revolution the Presbyterians did not reap the advantages they expected. The exiled ministers indeed were recalled; but though the nobles had made such professions of zeal for the privileges of the church, having attained their own objects, they yielded to the inclination of the king, bent on abridging the power and liberty of the ministers. They found it expedient, in a General Assembly, which, after nearly two years' interruption, was held May, 1586, to consent to the continuance of the name and office of bishop, the power of the office being much circumscribed. In thus complying with the wishes of the king, the clergy were influenced more by what



they had suffered than by any change of their sentiments. They beheld with aversion the episcopal order, and their zeal for the establishment of Presbytery was unabated. Events favoured their persevering efforts. While Philip of Spain prepared what was called the invincible armada for the invasion of England, he sent a number of jesuits and priests to spread disaffection in the sister kingdom. In counteracting the efforts of these emissaries, who succeeded in exciting rebellion, the ministers discovered a most ardent zeal. Their exertions contributed greatly to frustrate the designs of the Popish faction, as well as to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom, during the romantic voyage of the king to bring home his royal consort, a princess of Denmark. By the activity of the ministers in supporting government, James was so much mollified, that in answer to a prayer of the General Assembly for the confirmation of the liberties of the church, he was pleased to conclude a speech, tending to conciliate the members, in the following singular terms.

“ I praise God that I was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the Gospel,—to such a place as to be King of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk of the world. The kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English,—they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly.” Vol. I. p. 456.

This speech was heard with extreme delight. The ministers, in high expectation of success, embraced every opportunity of urging the king to establish their discipline by legislative authority. Though it is not probable that James was reconciled to the Presbyterian polity, the dangers to which he perceived longer opposition to the petitions of the clergy might expose his government, induced him to allow an act of parliament to pass, June 5, 1592, which not only abrogated all laws hostile to the Presbyterians, but ratified, in the most ample manner, their form of ecclesiastical government by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and sessions. It may be proper to subjoin the reflections in which Dr. Cook indulges on this occasion, both because they seem just, and afford an example of his manner.

“ Amidst all the intemperate zeal which occasionally marked the conduct of Melvil, and of the other active supporters of the discipline of Geneva, they displayed consummate talent, and admirable dexterity, in influencing the minds of men, and in taking advantage of whatever was calculated to promote the objects which they were solicitous to accomplish. Opposed by the executive power, which at

one stage in the progress of the Reformation might probably have permanently established a modified system of episcopacy, they prepared for the contest which awaited them, by ingratiating themselves with the people, by professing what they really felt,—for it was the natural effect of their principles,—the warmest zeal for political freedom, and by unwearied efforts to impress upon those who listened to them the infinite importance, and the awful truths of religion. Still recollecting with horror the persecution of the Popish church, they shrunk from whatever seemed in the most distant manner allied to it; they preserved or disseminated the dread of Popery, with an effect which the former feelings of the community alone could have enabled them to produce; and being actually called to oppose the intrigues of men, who would have imposed on the kingdom the yoke of spiritual bondage, they procured full credit for their repeated and fervent assertions, that, unless the presbyterian discipline was sanctioned, the purity of the Protestant faith could not be preserved. The violence which they sometimes displayed was the natural consequence of opposition upon minds deeply impressed with the sacred nature of the cause for which they were struggling, and actuated by the zeal which their peculiar circumstances were powerfully calculated to excite; but far from striking at the foundations of the throne, they rallied round it when they could conscientiously do so, and they occasionally extorted the gratitude of the monarch for the support which, in seasons of difficulty, he derived from their exertions.

‘ The parliamentary sanction now given to the Book of Discipline was in the highest degree satisfactory to the ministers. It placed them in the situation which they had long been desirous to occupy; it gave them reason to hope, that, secured against opposition, they might now devote themselves to the spiritual concerns of the community; and it afforded to the King an opportunity of gaining their confidence, and, through this, the best wishes, and the steady loyalty of his people. Had he followed this gracious act, as he was prudently advised to do, by such a provision to the clergy as would have exempted them from the hardships of poverty; had he been careful to evince to them that he was sincerely attached to the Protestant religion, and that, whilst they laboured to defend it, they might depend upon his countenance, he would have identified their duty and their interest with the just exercise of his prerogative; he would have perceived that rough and severe censure, by which the ministers in their pulpits shocked his feelings and irritated his passions, daily softening; he would soon have heard inculcated manly and rational sentiments respecting what was due to the person and the office of the sovereign; and he might have anticipated, by nearly a century, that state of the presbyterian church which has existed since the revolution, a state no less favourable to the constitutional rights of the King, than to the liberties of the subject.

‘ A deviation from this policy, he might have discerned, would, from the circumstances which had attended the triumph of the presbyterians, be followed by opposition much more formidable than that which he had yet experienced. He had, in a solemn address to heaven, in presence of the clergy, and of the most earnest of their



adherents, professed his veneration for the church, as modelled by these reformers, and consequently every action inconsistent with this appeal to the Almighty must have sunk him in the estimation of men abhorring the looseness of impiety, and must have led them to regard him as a prince destitute of honour, whose promises or concessions, dictated by necessity, might the next moment be revoked or forgotten. And it was apparent that presbytery had been interwoven with the religious principles of the great body of the people. Hence an attempt to subvert it could not fail to excite popular indignation, which no virtue in the members of a new establishment, or no excellence in that establishment itself, would be sufficient to remove, but which, cherished by those who were revered as the defenders of truth, might be expected to produce the most deplorable convulsions.' Vol. I. pp. 467—471.

Though the Presbyterians, after a struggle of sixteen years, had procured the sanction of the states to their religious polity, their acquisitions were far from secure. The Presbyterian discipline, as it strongly encouraged the spirit of freedom, appeared to the king to be incompatible with the prerogatives of royalty, and the unceremonious manner in which the clergy contradicted his opinions and censured his conduct, by mortifying his vanity as a prince and a divine, provoked his hatred. The ministers suspected that though he had acceded to their wishes, he would embrace opportunities to abridge their privileges and introduce a mode of ecclesiastical government more agreeable to his mind. It soon appeared that their suspicions were well founded. By his commissioner, who presented to the General Assembly the act ratifying the Presbyterian discipline, the king, while he expressed his resolution to observe the clause that authorized him to convene general assemblies, made several proposals for restraining the liberty of the ministers in their public discourses. The Assembly agreed to abide by the clause of the act respecting the calling of that judicatory, and ordained that no minister should utter any irreverent speeches against his majesty, and council, or their proceedings, or public admonitions, except on sufficient and necessary grounds. In thus retaining the liberty essential to preserve them from tyranny and oppression, they did not satisfy James, who wished to be absolute. To this ground of opposition between the king and the clergy, the state of the country added others.

Through the feebleness of the king's government, crimes of a most atrocious nature were committed, and multiplied rapidly. The laws were contemned and the royal authority was set at defiance. A plot was formed by the emissaries of the Spanish monarch, for the subversion of the reformed religion, and several Catholic nobles concurred in the scheme. This design was however detected by the vigilance of a clergyman, and the ministers discovered a most laudable zeal for the support of the govern-

ment and the prosecution of the traitors. But the king, who, on the first alarm, shewed symptoms of vigour, treated the offenders with so culpable a lenity, that they became more bold in the commission of crimes, and thus he drew upon himself the hatred of the people.

‘ The ministers, whose zeal against popery conspired with other causes in deciding their sentiments and conduct, did not hesitate to avow and inculcate that there was in the king himself and those who surrounded him, some desire to pardon men whom every consideration should have led them to punish. The synod of Fife, which happened to assemble when these representations were exerting their full effect, deliberated upon the state of the kingdom; and after declaring that the king was slow in repressing popery and planting the true religion; after resolving to tell him plainly what all his true subjects thought concerning his favouring and countenancing papistical traitors, and to intimate that they would sacrifice their lives rather than suffer the country to be polluted by idolatry, and overrun by blood-thirsty adherents of popery; they solemnly excommunicated the earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, the laird of Achindown, Sir James Chisholm, and all who supported them, and corresponded with the neighbouring provinces that the sentence might be as extensively as possible published through the nation. The cordiality with which the resolutions of the synod were every where approved, convinced James, that if the sentence were published, the people would be irritated against the lords to whom it related, and obstacles would be thrown in the way of that weak and timid policy which he was inclined to follow. To prevent what he dreaded, he urged Robert Bruce who was held in the highest estimation by the ministers, to suspend the publication, pointing out the irregularity of the sentence, and the evils which might result, if such interference on the part of ecclesiastical assemblies were not repressed. Although Bruce had every disposition to preserve harmony, and had deservedly, by his prudence ingratiated himself with the king, he did not dissemble his sentiments. He refused to do what was asked of him, and the conversation terminated by an insinuation from the monarch against the discipline and polity under which such measures were sanctioned.’—*Vol. II. p. 28.*

The king having, in compliance with an humble petition from the Popish lords, appointed a day for their trial, a convention of ecclesiastics and nobles, held at Edinburgh, addressed his majesty, lamenting that the nobles had been allowed to come into his presence, and requesting that the trial might be delayed till their accusers could conveniently appear. Though the king, who was irritated by this application, refused to acknowledge a convention assembled without his permission, he judged it expedient to defer the day of trial. As the lords, meanwhile, offered to satisfy the church and the king, an act was passed in conformity with the wishes of the prince, called the Act of Abolition, which, though designed to be extremely favourable to the lords,



they rejected, while, on the other hand, it excited the displeasure of the church. By an act of parliament, the lords were declared traitors; but having received a small supply of money from Spain, they took arms against the government. Provoked by this bold step, the king took the field against them, which compelled them to disperse. They implored permission to withdraw from the kingdom, and James, as well from the easiness of his nature as from a scheme which he had formed, but which he was not at all qualified to execute, of keeping the clergy in check by means of the Popish faction, granted their request. Though the ministers were pleased that the lords were banished, and anticipated the exercise of their ecclesiastical polity in all its vigour, the vacillating policy of James soon embroiled them with the court. The nation was alarmed by the report of an invasion from Spain, and the king sharing in the common fear, issued a manifesto, exhorting his subjects to prepare for vigorous resistance. When the assembly met in March, 1596, considering that the terms granted to the Popish lords were inconsistent with wise policy, among other remedies for the present exigencies, they proposed to appropriate the estates of the exiled nobles to the defence of the kingdom. Nothing could have been more inconsistent than this proposition, with the deceitful and dangerous politics of the king, who, it was known to the ministers, had determined to restore the banished lords.

‘ Believing that they could not expect the co-operation of government in the complete extirpation of the Popish faction, which they judged essential both to civil and religious freedom, they resolved to trust to their influence over the minds of the people. Afraid that the ardent zeal which they had once excited might become weak, they conceived it necessary to give it a new impulse, by renewing the covenant, and by enjoining the clergy throughout the kingdom to do so likewise: whilst, by the most solemn professions of anxiety to reform all classes of men, and to promote their spiritual edification, they deeply impressed upon those by whom they were revered, that if the most decisive conduct was not followed, all which had been hitherto done to produce and to secure the Reformation would prove totally unavailing. Having appointed commissioners to enumerate the corruptions of the ministry, and to suggest in what manner these might be removed, a report upon this subject was presented, in consequence of which it was required that all faithful pastors should seriously examine into the motives by which they had been influenced, in entering upon the sacred office should carefully ascertain the state of those who wished to partake of the sacrament; and should, with the sessions over which they presided, exercise ecclesiastical discipline, not only in cases of enormous wickedness, but even where slight deviations from the strictness of Christian duty had been discovered. In their own deportment, they were to avoid every approach to levity of behaviour, to gaiety of apparel, or to those prac-

tices, which, however common in private life, did not correspond with the gravity of a pastor; and such of them as should be guilty of profaning the Sabbath, of intemperance, or of prophaneness of discourse, were to be immediately deposed. They were cautioned against engaging in secular employments, which might distract their attention from the important duties which they had to perform; they were required, under pain of censure, to reside in their parishes, and to embrace every opportunity, even in company, of promoting, by their conversation, the sacred cause of religion, and the edification of those who looked to them for instruction. After they had thus pointed out what were their errors, and what should be the conduct of the pastors, they assembled, as they had agreed, to renew the covenant, by which they pledged themselves never to forsake what they had sworn to defend. Having met in one of the churches, they were exhorted to have recourse to private meditation and prayer; they humbled themselves in the sight of God—they became deeply agitated—they then listened to a sermon adapted to the occasion of their meeting; and before they dismissed, holding up their hands, and calling on the name of God, they bound themselves, as he should enable them to walk in the profession of the truth.' p. 52—54, Vol. II.

As James felt an inordinate desire to restore the Popish lords, he endeavoured, by the means of Robert Bruce, to obtain the sanction of the clergy; and as Bruce told him he would oppose the measure, he summoned a convention to consider how he should treat his rebellious subjects. To this convention a petition was presented by Huntly, who, with his associates, had secretly returned, praying to be allowed to live quietly in any place, and offering security for his conduct. After Melvil, who had obtruded himself upon the convention, had denounced, as traitors to Christ, his church, and the country, all who should approve of admitting the lords to favour, he was ordered to withdraw, and the king's proposal of granting pardon to the nobles was adopted. This resolution, so contrary to the sentiments of the nation, produced a strong ferment among the ministers, and, as they were not remarkable for policy of conduct, pushed them into excesses very detrimental to their cause. Commissioners of the preceding assembly, having in vain remonstrated with the king, drew together ministers from all quarters of the kingdom. This meeting issued a circular, exciting the people to resistance, and appointed a committee, called the Council for the Church, to watch over ecclesiastical affairs. The king, though irritated by these proceedings, was led, by the timidity of his nature, to attempt an accommodation, and he proposed to the committee, whether, if the lords satisfied the church, he might grant them indulgence. He was told that the nobles ought to be banished before any attention could be paid to their offers, and that, as they had been condemned by the law of God, and the sentence of parliament, it would be contrary to Scripture to pardon them.



This being reported to the king, highly excited his displeasure; and which the case of Black tended still further to increase. This man having, in a sermon, scandalously abused the king, queen, the lords of the council, and session, and called the English queen an Atheist, was summoned before the privy council. His brethren advised him to decline the king's jurisdiction. A deed was framed for this purpose; and having been sent to the different presbyteries to be subscribed, it was signed by four hundred persons. As the king was determined to maintain his authority, and the ministers were not less resolved to support their pretensions, the contest approached towards a crisis.

'The king issued a proclamation, ordering the most active ministers to leave the city, and prohibiting such conventions as that which had for some time been held. The clergy were not shaken in their purpose by this exertion of the sovereign power; they resolved to obey God rather than man; and they enjoined, that from the pulpit their privileges should, upon the first opportunity, be in the most confident strain, and in the full extent asserted. New resolutions as to the mode of defending Black, were taken; and another declaration was, upon his again being summoned before the council, composed and circulated. p. 71. Vol. II.' Various attempts were made by the king to accommodate the differences; but Black, supported by his brethren, remained inflexible, and was found guilty. Matters were now fast hastening to tumult and disorder; and interested men, who had little concern about the issue of the differences between the king and the church, but who were eager, for their own purposes, to promote confusion, put the match to the train, which had been laid. On the morning of the 17th of December, (1596) a day memorable in the history of the church of Scotland, insinuations or assertions were circulated, that Huntly had been privately at court, and had prevailed upon the king to issue an order, which had just been intimated, that twenty-four of the citizens, best affected to the ministers, should leave Edinburgh; the clergy were alarmed by assurances, that, if they did not now remain firm, Popery would be introduced; whilst the same fomenters of discord represented to the king, and the Octavians, that the houses of the ministers were guarded, and that it was requisite to take every precaution for saving themselves from the fury of the populace. In this agitated state of men's minds, divine worship commenced, and Balquancal, the officiating minister, who believed the reports that had been carefully sent to him, warned his audience of their danger,—complained of the treacherous forms of the court, accused some of the leading men in the kingdom as having occasioned the present deplorable state of the church, and recalling to the minds of those who heard him, how the noblemen and barons had struggled for the Reformation, he exhorted the lords and gentlemen, who were present, to meet in one of the churches, after service, and to assist the ministry with their advice. The meeting immediately took place, and Bruce, having expatiated upon the late interesting events, desired those who had assembled, to hold up their hands, and swear that they would defend religion against all op-

posers. Commissioners were sent to the king, who was sitting with the lords of session, and whilst they were absent, passages of scripture were read, calculated to inflame the people, who could not see the impropriety of the manner in which these passages were applied. Amongst the persons carrying the supplication, was Lord Lindsay, who, when the king asked how they had dared to meet, with much warmth replied, that in a season of so much hazard, he thought they might lawfully do more than petition. James, apprehending from this answer, and from the furious manner in which the multitude were pressing into the hall, that some violent assault was intended, immediately withdrew, and ordered the gates to be shut. It was instantly circulated through the city, that he had given an unfavourable answer to the requests which had been offered, and Lindsay, upon his return, audaciously said,—Let us now stay together, and advertise our friends and the favourers of religion, and take a decided part against our enemies, for it shall be either theirs or ours. Upon this some cried to arms; others exclaimed,—The sword of the Lord and of Gideon. p. 74—76 Vol. II.

The people, who were wrought up to a high pitch of fury, were soothed by the chief magistrate, and induced to separate without further outrage. As the ministers persisted in their opposition, proceeding to still greater violence in their petitions to the sovereign, he issued a proclamation, detailing the insults that had been offered him, and exposing the treasonable conduct of the ministers. This proclamation made a deep impression on the public mind. The ministers perceiving that the zeal of the people declined, endeavoured to revive the flame. A party was formed to maintain the liberties of the church; but Lord Hamilton, who was invited to put himself at the head of it, gave information of the design to the king. The ministers had greatly impaired their influence; because, though their cause was good, their zeal was without discretion, and their measures were taken and pursued without prudence.

(To be continued.)

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Art. III. *Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion*: with an Appendix, containing Historical and Critical Illustrations. By Joseph Fletcher, M.A. 8vo. pp. 347. lxviii. Price 9s. Conder. 1817.

**THREE** hundred years are on the very point of being completed, since the inglorious vassalage of Europe was relieved, and a part of its freedom restored, at the period of Luther's first resistance to the tyranny of Papal Rome. His successes were the signal for an extensive resumption of ancient rights: nor was the opportunity lost. Many nations disowned the authority which had long bowed them down, and proclaimed themselves free from its intolerable oppression. They soon learned the value of their achievements; and in the possession of the benefits which they now began to enjoy, as the fruits of their indepen-



dence, they could feel no inclination to resume the yoke of their former tyrants, who were resolved on compelling, if possible, their submission. Incessant struggles to maintain the positions already carried, and to prevent their being reconquered, have been demanded by the ceaseless warfare against freedom, which its ancient and inveterate foe has supported. Popery, irreconcilable to its losses, and filled with malicious fury against the abettors of the Protestant cause, whom it will never spare, will never cease to be the enemy of Christian freedom: its hostility is settled and resolved. Never since the great and righteous separation from the Romish despotism, in the early part of the sixteenth century, has the genius of liberty been permitted to repose. Correct in his apprehension of danger, and alert to announce its approaches, he gives now the 'note of preparation,' and calls every Protestant Christian to the post and to the service which are allotted him, and in which he may most effectually employ the proper means of resisting the most odious, and the most horrid superstition which ever asserted its dominion over mankind.

Of Popery it is impossible for us to speak in other terms. It is in vain that its enormities are thrown back on past times, and imputed to the spirit of distant ages. In the accomplishment of its purposes, Popery must be exactly that which it has been. Its will is to destroy science, to extinguish knowledge, to annihilate opposition, and to reign in darkness and terror. The proofs of its intentions are too luminous not to be perceived; and Protestants, we trust, are too well instructed in the knowledge of its arts and machinations, to permit their suspicions to be lulled asleep by any assurances of its abettors, that there exists no reason for alarm. The most temperate partisans of Roman Catholicism, cannot deny that it is founded on principles which proscribe the exercise of every other form of religion, and that every other religious profession is incompatible with its laws; they cannot deny that were its means equal to its wishes, Protestantism would be put down by violence as a heresy. They know that the Church of Rome is radically and incurably intolerant, and that its 'one and indivisible' object, is to destroy for ever the right and power of conscience to make religion the subject of its inquiries. They may palliate and explain; they may refer us to their own liberal sentiments and feelings as they please; but they know that the power to which, in their communion with the Romish hierarchy, they submit, and must submit, has taken an eternal vow never to tolerate any other creed than that which it is determined to dictate to every individual of mankind, could it provide for itself so large a field of action;—and that its operations are bounded by narrower limits, is assuredly not owing to its indifference. Every creature under

heaven, who bears the image of his Maker, and whose rational nature stamps him the heir of immortality, should feel himself under the perpetual obligations which his origin and his destiny import, to resist a thralldom the basest and the most terrible to which the human soul can be enslaved. Popery is incompatible with the inalienable rights of men; nor is it less so with the will of God, and the rule of his final judgement.

With these views of the inherent evils and tendencies of Popery, we should only dissemble, were we to deny that we cannot regard its possible increase without alarm, or that we wish to see the means of opposing its progress most effectively employed. Those means include no proceedings against which the avowals of some Roman Catholic writers in this country, contain an objection; and the most important of them is the principle for which they are *personally* the advocates, though they do not hold it with the approbation of their Catholic superiors,—that all mankind in every place and under every circumstance, are at perfect liberty to choose their religious creed, and to adopt their religious practice. The duties which conscience owes to itself, are not to be estimated according to parallels of latitude and lines of longitude on the globe; if therefore men judge for themselves, as to their religious profession, in Britain, let them exercise such judgement in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, in France, in all states and kingdoms. Let no political incapacity, no personal disability in any of these countries, be associated with religious profession. Let all civil honours, emoluments, and offices, be every where conferred on men as able and meretorious citizens. Then we should have realized the very state and circumstances on which the writers to whom we have referred, have so eloquently expatiated, as the desirable condition in which the human race should be settled;—and then we should see an end to Popery.

The Author whose work is now before us, is a man exactly to our mind, in regard to the principles which he asserts, and the spirit which pervades them. We recognize in every page of his book, a correct conception of the nature of revealed religion, and of the purposes for which it was imparted. We meet with no passages which allow of a construction unfavourable to the full personal exercise of the rights of the human mind. The sentiment that religion is matter of consideration and feeling, for the understanding and the heart of man, apart from the control of all others of his species, is clearly and conspicuously displayed; the whole argument of the work is directed against the violation of this principle. Of the Papal religion he uniformly speaks under the full conviction of its outrage in pretension, and its enormities in practice, as every honourable and humane mind must express its disgust and abhorrence on inspecting the undisputed records



of its guilt. He does not endanger our underrating his benevolence, by leaving it possible for us to conjecture that there exists a sympathy between his feelings and a system of such darkness of character as the Romish: his purity of feeling towards mankind is indeed an ingredient of his opposition to that system which was from the beginning described as taking peace from the earth. It is not against persons, but principles, that Mr. Fletcher directs his reasonings. That he strives lawfully in the good warfare in which he has engaged, is demonstrated by the correctness of his positions, the strength of his arguments, and the practical good tendency of his work. Our opinion of the merits will be corroborated by the specimens of its contents which we shall introduce into our pages. The Preface commences with the following paragraphs.

\* The principles of the Roman Catholic religion have become widely circulated in every part of our country, since the repeal of the penal statutes, which tended so powerfully to prevent their diffusion. In particular districts, the number of those who profess them have greatly increased; and in some of our larger towns, their places of worship are distinguished by a splendour and magnificence which render them almost equal to the churches of our national establishment, and exhibit visible proofs of the opulence and advancement of their communion. Their publications are numerous; their clergy are highly respectable in character and talents; and their exertions in support of their own principles are zealous and incessant. It is not unusual for their priests to deliver lectures once or twice in the week, during the season of Lent, on those subjects which naturally involve the points at issue between themselves and the protestants; by which means considerable interest and curiosity are excited, and persons of all denominations are occasionally attracted to their chapels.

\* To these facts the Author has adverted, not for the purpose of censure and animadversion, but to shew the necessity of corresponding zeal on the part of protestants in the defence and explanation of those great principles, which constitute the basis of their secession from the Church of Rome. Whatever regret he may feel at the success of the means employed in the dissemination of opposite principles, he can feel none at the liberty enjoyed by his neighbours; nor would he wish his opposition to their religious system to be considered as resulting in any degree from the influence of political motives. On the contrary, if there be any sentiment which he is disposed to hold with the most tenacious grasp, it is this—that every individual and every society possess an unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences; and that all secular interference *on account of religion*, by penalties or restrictions, is irrational, impolitic and anti scriptural. The only effectual means of counteracting error, are persuasion and argument, and these alone comport with the sacredness of truth and the dignity of religion.

The substance of these lectures was delivered some years ago

to the Author's congregation, in consequence of the zealous efforts of the Roman Catholic priest then resident in the same town, (Blackburn,) in the public vindication of his own principles. The Protestant part of the population of Blackburn, especially the Protestant Dissenting part of it, may congratulate themselves that at such a time their cause was in the hands of an advocate so well qualified to display its strength and excellence, to refute the opposite errors, and to afford the inquiring and the wavering that complete knowledge of the tenets and tendencies of Roman Catholicism, which is an essential pre-requisite to their determination, and which, in proportion as they yield themselves to the influence of moral power, is of itself sufficient to satisfy the one and to confirm the other. From the list of topics included in these lectures, it will be perceived that every important point involved in the controversy, has received attention from the Author. They are the following: I. On the Authority of the Church. II. On Oral Tradition. III. On Papal Supremacy. IV. On Transubstantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Mass. V. On the Sacraments of the Church of Rome. VI. On the Invocation of Saints, and the Use of Images. VII. On Purgatory, and the Doctrine of Merit. VIII. On the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. IX. On the Genius and Tendency of the Papal Religion.

On these subjects novelty cannot be expected. The controversy indeed may be considered as exhausted: so long has it been agitated, and so numerous and able have been the writers who have taken part in it, that nothing of moment is left to the research or ingenuity of contemporary authors. An exposition of principles, however, will frequently be a service to which various circumstances in the collision of the opposite interests, will invite the respective parties. On such occasions, the ability and honourable character of the polemic, must be estimated by the judgement which he manifests in the selection of his materials, the logical skill with which he arranges his arguments, and the evidence which he furnishes of a predominant regard to the interests of truth and virtue. In all these respects, the Author of these Lectures is entitled to high commendation. The principles of Roman Catholicism he has derived, not from the statements of its enemies, but from the writings of its ablest advocates; thus obtaining for his representations a character of indisputable authenticity. He has displayed his arguments distinctly and orderly, and has employed himself in this labour only as it is a necessary means of preserving and increasing the light of truth, the purity of liberty, and the felicity of mankind.

The primary topic of discussion in the controversy between the Romanists and the Protestants, is the rule of judgement, and the standard of appeal in religion; the former party asserting the exclusive competency of their Church, as the living supreme



judge of controversy and the rule of faith; the latter maintaining the exclusive sufficiency of Scripture as the only authoritative rule of faith and practice in matters of religion. With the decision of this point the cause of the respective parties must stand or fall. The importance therefore of the claim exhibited by the Romanists, is indisputable, and in exact proportion as it is important, ought the grounds on which it is rested, to be plain and palpable, and the evidence by which it is attempted to be supported, luminous and conclusive. It is in fact identical with the original pretensions of Christianity, which were established by a miraculous agency, conferred upon its first propagators, and exerted openly for the conviction of the world; since there is practically no difference between the original characters of religious doctrines included in a supernatural communication, and a permanent interpretative authority implying infallibility and demanding submission. The power by which the former was emitted, is essential to the validity of the latter, and the same proof of its connexion with the one must be required as really adhered to the other. But where is the external proof of an exclusive Divine authority in the Church of Rome, to dictate the interpretation of a written revelation? It has absolutely no existence. In the total absence therefore of all appropriate evidence capable of supporting such a claim, we are not only justified in resisting it, but are solemnly bound to discard and oppose it, from the very principle which authorizes us to reject a communication purporting to be Divine, that is not accompanied with satisfactory demonstration of its Divine origin.

The existence of a living, oracular, and infallible tribunal in the Church, to declare the sense of Scripture and to determine its authority, is a purely gratuitous assumption, devised by a crafty priesthood to further their own purposes. The Divine Being has never in all the extent of his communications to mankind, imparted one particle of information on such a question. The strongest of all proofs is obtainable, that the Scriptures are designed for individual use, that every man is in his duty in obtaining them, and that to himself it belongs to ascertain in what respects and in what degree he is interested in their contents. With more plausibility than attaches to the claim, as urged by the Romanist, might it be alleged as the prerogative of the ancient Jewish Church. But does our Lord ever recognise such a claim? No. He refers his hearers invariably to the Scriptures, themselves, apart from all living authoritative interpretation. Does he not exhort the people to "search the scriptures?" Does he ever direct them to the priests? And what can his words—"If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe, &c." import, but that every individual was on his own

possibility and right as an interpreter of the message of revelation?

How stands the case as to the New Testament? Was there at the time of its original publication a college of 'clergymen' to whom it was committed after the manner of the Sibylline oracles deposited with the Pagan priests of Rome, that they might consult it as occasion might demand, and deal it forth to the world as they might think proper? So it seems we should believe! But the fact is far otherwise. The Apostolic Epistles were addressed to all the members of the Christian societies to which they were sent, to be publicly read in their assemblies, and to be circulated without restriction or limit, for the use and benefit of the whole world. The Gospels were sent abroad precisely in the same spirit of general utility. Every man was not only at perfect liberty to obtain copies of the sacred books, according as his circumstances might furnish the occasion, but felt himself perfectly unrestrained in the use and application of his mind to their contents. 'Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia,' read, as well as heard, the wonderful works of God, in the numerous copies of the Scriptures which were so early circulated: a circumstance we may assure ourselves which never could have occurred under such a system as that which, less conspicuous for truth and holiness than for cunning craft and secular despotism, entitles an old man and a company of intriguing associates at Rome—the 'Church,' which all Christians are reverently to regard and to obey!

Against the whole of this pretended claim, Mr. Fletcher has directed a series of argument so compactly and so strongly framed, that we feel no hesitation in recommending his first Lecture as very creditable to him as a reasoner. For its purpose it is quite effectual. We shall extract the propositions which head the several series of argumentative passages directed against the principle, that the canonical authority of the books of Scripture is dependent on the Church of Rome. Mr. F. remarks, That it was not the Church of Rome, nor a council convened by the authority of the Church of Rome, that first ascertained and determined the canon of Scripture—That whatever church or council might publish a declaration concerning the canon of the New Testament, the authority of that canon could not arise from the declaration itself, but from the antecedent evidence on which it was founded—That unless the antecedent authority of the New Testament, prior to all such declarations of it, be acknowledged, it will be impossible to prove the Divinity of the Christian Religion—That if the authority of the sacred canon rest on the supposed prior authority of the Church of



Rome, it will be impossible to prove the authority of that Church from the sacred canon—That the authority of the Church of Rome, is totally unsupported by the New Testament. Under the last division the following definition and description of a Christian Church are introduced, as that to which the New Testament gives its exclusive sanction.

‘ Every organized society assumes some principle as its basis; and in an inquiry respecting the constitution of a religious society, special importance must attach to right views on this subject. A church of Christ, according to scriptural testimony, is not a mere assembly or aggregation of people combined by political arrangements, and dependent on the will and authority of a civil government. It is not the accidental association of a number of individuals and families, who may happen to live within the artificial boundaries of a parish. It is not a promiscuous crowd of various and opposite characters, who meet together once or twice a week, because of the local convenience of the place, or the conceived attractions of a preacher. In all these reasons or grounds of union, we can recognize no scriptural principle. We can perceive only the authority of power, the influence of custom, or the effect of accident; and though under the controul of divine agency, their ultimate operation may be beneficial, yet in their immediate action we trace nothing at all amounting to *religious conviction*; so that when their force is suspended or counteracted, the union is dissolved! The principle of scriptural union appears to be—the *knowledge and influence of divine truth, leading to a voluntary association of believers for the purposes of mutual edification, in the observance of all divine institutions.* Thus the first churches were constituted in the apostolic age. The truth of the glorious gospel, attested by “*infallible proofs*,” was proclaimed to men for “*the obedience of faith*.” Wherever it was cordially received, it became, through the power of the Holy Spirit, the principle of obedience; it constrained those who “*had given themselves to the Lord, to give themselves to one another according to the will of God*.” It led those whom the providence of God had stationed near each other, to “*meet in one place*,” and to submit to all the laws and ordinances which Christ had enjoined, either by his own authority, or the delegated authority of his apostles. Here we witness the result of personal conviction, the effect of enlightened principle; and in all succeeding ages, those have most nearly resembled the primitive churches, who have formed their union on the basis of evangelical truth, and have regarded that truth as the ground of their hope, the support of their holiness, and the firm bond of their mutual attachment, and zealous co-operation. In the constitution of a scriptural church, we recognize the authority of Christ as its warrant, the truth of Christ as its foundation, and agreement respecting that truth as the principle of fellowship. p. 27—29.

These sentiments are worthy of the serious attention of every individual who would understand the nature of the original institutes of the New Testament. Among many Christians, vague

notions of a Christian Church are but too prevalent, inducing a feeling more allied to a superstitious veneration than to the spirit of rational liberty.

On the Papal Supremacy, which is the subject of the Third Lecture, it is easy for every unprejudiced mind fully to satisfy itself that this asserted pre-eminence of rank and power is an arrogant and wicked pretence. The supremacy of whom? Of a mortal raised by cabal and intrigue to a station of secular dominion, and to the alleged government of all Christians upon earth! Monstrous supremacy! A supremacy which no man in the possession of his rationality should concede, but as he may discern the very majesty of God in the unsullied purity of its claimant, and in his control over the agency of all natural causes, to seal up the stars—to launch the thunder—to raise the dead. No: this doctrine of papal supremacy never can have proceeded from God. In conferring Apostolic powers on a few individuals selected as the instruments of a great purpose, which was to be completely fulfilled within the term of their natural lives, he reconciled them to himself by Jesus Christ, endued them with the spirit of holiness, and purified them from all secular affection, that they might be the models of all sanctity as well as the preachers of the Christian faith. And the Popes of Rome, frequently the most vicious of their race, men supremely eminent in profligacy of morals, in the contempt of all goodness, in the ridicule and despite of religion, breathing out slaughter against mankind, and in the reckless ambition of their inhuman minds, stirring up the passions of secular powers to jealousy and revenge, that discord and blood might agitate and overflow the world; that men of such a character should be accounted supreme over Christians, is the very perfection of delusion! We renounce and abhor the assumption as an impiety. But we must return to Mr. Fletcher, from whom we perceive we differ in the interpretation of a passage of great celebrity in this controversy, though this variation is not, in our opinion, injurious, to his argument on the main point. We refer to the explication of Matt. xvi. 18, which occurs p. 104.

‘The Apostle Peter had confessed that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God; and in return, the Messiah replies, after pronouncing his benediction, “And I say unto thee, Thou art a Stone.” It is not ‘thou art *the* Stone’ much less ‘thou art *the* Rock,’ but simply an allusion to his name, as *relatively significant* of the confession he had just made, to which confession, or the truth confessed, he directly refers, as *the rock on which the church is built*. There is a change of the word, which every attentive reader of the original will immediately perceive. Had our Lord meant that Peter was the foundation of the church, he would have



retained the same term, in both parts of the declaration: it would have been *Thou art a Stone, and on thee as a Stone I will build my church*; but it is far differently expressed. It is 'Thou art, that is evidently, thou art called *a stone*, and on *this rock*, the truth which thou hast confessed concerning myself, I will build my church.' It is highly probable that by some appropriate action, our Lord distinctly pointed out *himself*, as the object of the declaration.

The whole of this construction is, we think, unnatural and forced, though Mr. Fletcher is by no means singular in maintaining it. The fear of conceding even in appearance to the demands of the Romanists, has evidently turned aside some Protestant writers from the direct path in their consideration of this passage. Let it however be expounded according to the laws of just criticism, and it will be seen that nothing which it contains is in the least favourable to the views of the Papal abettors. When the Author asserts that there is a change of the word, which every reader of the original will perceive, he evidently refers to the difference between  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$  and  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$ , the former a proper name, the latter a noun importing the foundation of the edifice to be erected. That the words are not identical in form, is obvious, and we think that it is not less evident that there is in the use of the latter in our Lord's address, an allusion to the import of the former. Though it were admitted that  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$  never signifies 'rock,' yet as  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$  denotes frequently *lapis*, a stone, and agrees in import with  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$ , the passage may strictly and properly be rendered, "I say unto thee, thou art stone, and upon this stone," &c. As a proper name  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$  is of course in the masculine gender, it is not therefore by any means decisive of the point to remark that  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$  does not signify either 'a rock' or 'the rock.' Does it derive its meaning from  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$ , does it import rock? That it does so is indisputable. We prefer therefore the sense of this passage which connects with Peter the declaration of our Lord, "Upon this rock I will build my Church." We are entirely of Whitby's opinion, that the whole grace of the allusion in  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$  to  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$ , is lost unless this passage be expounded of the person of Peter, and not of his confession, or the object of it. Nothing can be more harsh than the opposite construction. The words "Thou art Peter," are perfectly unmeaning, and most strangely encumber the passage. In what manner the words 'I say unto thee, Thou art Peter,' can be relatively significant of the confession which that Apostle had just made, is above our comprehension. Does not our Lord intend to designate Peter as a remarkable person, by using such a mode of address as is here employed. "Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven;

"and I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, ( $\pi\tau\rho\varsigma$ ) and upon this rock ( $\pi\tau\rho\alpha$ ) I will build my Church." The change from Simon Barjona to Peter, would certainly revive in the recollection of the Apostle, the language which our Lord had used in reference to him on the occasion of his first introduction by his brother Andrew: "Thou art Simon Barjona, Thou shalt be called 'Cephas, or Peter,'" and would furnish him with the reason on which that change of name was founded, but which had not hitherto been explained. That there is an allusion to the import of the Apostle's name in the promise of our Lord in the passage under notice, is evident from the construction in the Greek Testament, and it would be still more strikingly conveyed in the *spoken* than in the *written* language. The Syriac has probably preserved the identical form as it was originally delivered: it is as follows; We shall give it in the Hebrew character, as it may be more convenient to our readers, אָמַר הוּא בָּרְיָנָא וְכָל כְּפָאָה הוּא כְּפָאָה. The meaning of our Lord is, we conceive, no other than this: "Thou art designated by a name which imports rock, and which, as significant of the honour and service to which I have appointed thee, was appropriated to thee instead of Simon thy former name on thy first becoming my disciple, and agreeable to this name shall be thy office, for upon thee will I build my Church, by making thy preaching the laying of its foundations among the people." Mr. Fletcher is clearly unsupported in his remark (p. 105) that in the New Testament the Messiah is frequently represented as the *rock* and the foundation on which his Church rests, if he means that  $\pi\tau\rho\alpha$ , *rock*, is so applied to Christ; and unless he intends to give his remark this bearing, it is not pertinent; it is never so applied. Nor indeed does a single instance occur in the New Testament, of the application of  $\pi\tau\rho\alpha$ , or any other word signifying rock, to Christ, in the sense of foundation, or with any reference to building.

The interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18, which we adopt, is supported by Grotius, Barrow, Le Clerc, Whitby, Doddridge, Campbell, Macknight, Dr. Middleton, (Bishop of Calcutta,) Dr. Marsh, (Bishop of Landaff,) Schleusner, and also Michaelis, who properly remarks that in matters of doctrine the Christian Church rests on the testimony of the Apostles, of whom Peter was one of the most distinguished, and the first in order.\* No supremacy, however, over the other Apostles,

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\* Dr. Adam Clark, in his Commentary on this passage, to which there is a reference in Mr. Fletcher's Appendix, dogmatically asserts that the interpretation which we have adopted can be advanced only by persons who are "blinded by prejudice." This rash and discreditable assertion we expect the Dr. will revoke and cancel on



was imparted to Peter by our Lord. It is a pre-eminence in honour, not in authority, that was conferred upon him. They were independent of him as the Ministers of Christ, and the whole of the privilege with which he was invested, is most satisfactorily explained by the part which he took in the transactions which introduced the kingdom of Christ among both Jews and Gentiles.

Whatever might be the honour and privileges conferred upon Peter, they were most strictly *personal*; they lived and died with him. He left nothing to another; and it is only by one of the most arrogant and iniquitous arts ever practised on the credulity of mankind, that a successor in the person of the pope has been provided for him. History bears its strongest attestation to the fact, that for ages Christian churches and pastors knew nothing of papal supremacy, but maintained an undisputed independence. The unimpeachable documents of antiquity confront the daring assertion of the Romanists on this point, and leave us to express our utter astonishment, if indeed any matter in which they are parties can astonish us, at the boldness of their pretences, and the impiety of their tenets. Jesus Christ called Peter to the apostleship, and made him the primary instrument in the erection of the Christian Church; but what has this to do with Papal government at Rome? How long are mankind to be abused by the cunning and the fraud of priest-craft? When will they recover their senses and shew themselves to be men, by discarding the grossest impostures, and delivering themselves from the vilest despotism which ever enthroned itself in this part of the creation of God to which his light and his truth have been sent forth? It is a sufficient and most ample refutation of all pretensions and claims importing the supremacy of the Pope, as the successor of Peter, that the New Testament is completely silent on the point; that Jesus Christ never speaks of a successor to Peter or any other Apostle; that his promises to the Apostles are strictly and exclusively personal. Jesus Christ promised to send the Holy Spirit, the *πνεῦμα Ἅγιον*, to be with his Apostles; and the promise was fulfilled; but he never promised a successor to Peter or to any other Apostle.

A more satisfactory demonstration was never made out, than is presented in the following view of a transaction recorded in the Epistle to the Galatians. It is a statement indisputably correct, and it cuts up by the roots the doctrine of Peter's supremacy, and the claims of his pretended successors.

inspecting the above list of the names of Protestant Divines, whose upright and candid proceedings, he must well know, are not impeachable.

It appears that a judaizing faction were endeavouring to pervert the Gospel of Christ in the district of Galatia. They attempted in opposition to the Apostolic decree, to blend the rites of the Mosaic economy with the Christian institution. They were particularly anxious to revive the obligation of circumcision. Aware of their special obnoxiousness to the Apostle Paul, it seems they endeavoured by various insinuations to invalidate his apostolic authority; and because he was not of the *first twelve*, and had not been one of those who associated with the disciples "from the beginning of the Gospel," they represented his authority as inferior to that of the other Apostles. This is evident from the circumstantial details given in the first and second chapters of his epistle, by which he proves, that *his authority was derived immediately from Christ himself—that he entered on his apostolic office as soon as he was converted, without a personal conference with any of the Apostles—that three years elapsed before he saw the Apostle Peter—that he had received a special commission to be the Apostle of the uncircumcision, or to preach to the Gentiles, from the same authority which ordained Peter to be the Apostle of the circumcision—and that the Apostles at Jerusalem when Paul visited the place, at a subsequent period, distinctly recognized his authority.* (Ch. i. 11—23. ii. 1—9.) It appears that after St. Paul had been at Jerusalem, he met St. Peter at Antioch, when the circumstance before referred to, took place. I shall cite the passage: "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them who were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all; if thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (ii. 11—15.)

It is evident from this passage that Paul, so far from acknowledging any supremacy in Peter, when he met with him in the same city, finding that he had been acting with dissimulation, publicly rebuked him. And Peter did not attempt to justify himself, although he might have found very plausible reasons for his conduct; he felt that it was condemned by the spirit of God, speaking in Paul, and he did not resist him. Now let any candid man say, which of these two acted as the superior. Peter follows a certain line of conduct towards the Gentiles; Paul comes, and without consulting Peter upon it, or appealing to the other Apostles, by the wisdom given him from above, judges it to be wrong, and by the authority committed to him, publicly withstands Peter, rebukes him, and then records the transaction in an epistle regarded even by the Church of Rome as written under the influence of inspiration.\*

\* The Rev. James Carlile's "Examination of the Arguments for the Pre-eminency of the Roman Catholic Episcopacy, adduced by the Rev. John Ryan," &c. p. 47.



If the circumstances of this case had been reversed, and Peter had reproved Paul, it would have been cited as a triumphant and an incontrovertible demonstration of Peter's supremacy. But as it now stands, it is impossible to reconcile the fact with that unsupported assumption.

It is recorded in the Acts (viii. 14, 15.) that when the "Apostles" in Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, "they sent unto them Peter and John, that they might receive the Holy Ghost." If Peter possessed or exercised supreme jurisdiction over his brethren, is it probable that *they* would have sent *him* on this special commission? The circumstance, and the account of it, are, on the principle of "pre-eminent dignity," alike inexplicable.

It is also inexplicable on this same principle, that St. Paul, when writing to the Church at Rome, should never advert to the exclusive privilege they possessed, in having for their bishop, the Head-Apostle, the Vicegerent of Christ, and in the communication of supreme ecclesiastical power to the future bishop of their Church in succession, and for ever! It is inexplicable, that St. Peter himself, when writing to the Churches two catholic or general epistles, should advance nothing that might lead them to acknowledge his investiture with this authority. In the latter of these epistles, he informs the churches, that he was "shortly to put off his tabernacle," and that he would "endeavour that after his decease, they might have these things in remembrance," and yet he makes no reference to his successor in ecclesiastical supremacy! He calls himself with great humility an "elder," and exhorts the elders of the Churches, to a diligent discharge of pastoral duties; but not the slightest allusion to his own pre-eminence, occurs in these apostolic charges." pp. 127—130.

We are unwilling to detach from this connexion, some passages which we should have been glad to copy for the perusal of our readers, lest we should do them injury: of this kind are the remarks on the invocation of Saints. We venture however to copy the following paragraph.

"We never request an *unknown* fellow christian to pray for us; and it would never enter into the mind of a man to imagine, that a *mental* desire, not expressed in language, or by intelligible signs, should be addressed to an *unknown* christian. As the object of mutual intercession is the promotion of mutual fellowship and mutual advantage, in one way or another, previous knowledge of one another is absolutely indispensable. But how can this mutual knowledge be possessed in the present case? How can I *know* any of the saints in heaven, or be assured that they *know* me? I may indulge romantic conjectures and reveries; but what scriptural warrant have I for such conceptions? It is possible I may be known to them, but they have never been exhibited as objects of personal knowledge to me; and therefore it is the fiction of fancy and not the exercise of faith, that would lead me to address them." pp. 224, 225.

Mr. Fletcher's work exhibits generally a scrupulous attention

#### 44 Fletcher's *Lectures on the Roman Catholic Religion*.

to accuracy of statement ; it is however occasionally defective in this particular, as in the sentiment which occurs, p. 18. that the determination of what was Apocryphal, and what might be entitled to Canonical authority, would *invariably* respect the proof of the document in question being the composition of an apostle ; a rule which certainly excludes the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles from *canonical* authority, as these books respectively, though included in the canon, were not the composition of an apostle. It is also incorrect to state, (p. 275.) ' that an apostolic assembly decreed the 'abolition of Jewish ceremonies.' The Apostolic decree referred to, only prohibited the imposition of the Jewish ceremonies on the Gentile converts to Christianity. The quotation from *Paley*, p. 19, presents the very reverse of the Author's meaning, in consequence of an erratum—*with*, instead of *without*.

The passages which we have cited from the "*Lectures*," render unnecessary any remarks which we might be prepared to offer on the style of the Author ; it will be appreciated by our readers as the proper kind of diction for sentiments of serious consideration and great moment. Having already expressed our opinion of Mr. Fletcher's general merits as a writer, we shall close the present article with the following extract from the concluding lecture, on the Genius and Tendency of the Papal Religion.

IV. *That the principles of the papal religion tend to cherish the spirit of intolerance and persecution.* The history of religious intolerance, could its progress be accurately traced, would exhibit a most melancholy proof of human depravity. When that depravity appears in the secular transactions of life, we are not so much surprised as grieved at its awful development ; but when the very religion of mortals, can blend itself with the darkest passions of our nature, and furnish the real, or the ostensible cause of malevolence, we feel amazement and horror at the unnatural combination. Whence is it, we inquire ; that any system of opinions, dignified by the name of *religion*, can admit into alliance with itself, an agency purely infernal, and directed only to vengeance and extirpation ? The monstrous incongruity is still greater, when we contemplate the original elements, out of which, it is pretended at least, every form and modification of the *Christian* religion have arisen. The records of Christianity exhibit a character and a model of transcendent benevolence in the life of our divine Redeemer ; and the truths he taught, the obligations he enjoined, and the prospects he unfolded to the faith and hope of his disciples, present the most powerful motives to the practical imitation of his example. One would have imagined, that the most imperfect representation of such a religion would have preserved at least that *one* characteristic of its divine origin, *the spirit and the law of love* ! It could not surely have been forgotten, that this was referred to, by the great teacher sent from God, as the most decisive test of resemblance to himself, and the most unequivocal



proof of interest in his favour. He had recorded it as the distinct avowal of his design, that he "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them," and the inference was therefore unquestionable, that intolerance and persecution in any form, and to any extent, are in eternal opposition to the spirit and genius of his religion.

'It would have been well for the interests of the world, if the force of this conclusion had been felt and acted upon in the Christian Church. But it was soon forgotten, when the corruption of Christian doctrines and institutions had prepared the way for the most tremendous violations of "the law of love." The records of ecclesiastical history are stained with blood. Those offices, to the undertaking of which, nothing should have prompted, but pious zeal and holy benevolence, became by the appendages of worldly emolument, most attractive objects to unsanctified ambition. The possession of power uncounteracted by moral principle, and unchecked by religious liberty, soon gave scope to the exercise of tyranny; and out of this spirit arose the usurped prerogatives, and the unbounded domination of the See of Rome. The world, "wondering at the beast," beheld with silent astonishment, the gradual encroachments of a spiritual empire, which by the refinement and extent of its policy, acquired and absorbed within itself the supreme jurisdiction of all affairs, that upon any principle of construction could be reckoned spiritual and ecclesiastical, till it became at length a maxim, supported by the authority of innumerable precedents, that errors of opinion were within the cognizance of the secular power, and exposed their unfortunate adherents to fines, imprisonments, and death.' pp. 328—330.

Art. V. *On the Rule of Faith: in Reply to Mr. Joseph Fletcher, Minister of the Independents at Blackburn, and Author of the Lectures on the Roman Catholic Religion.* By Joseph Fairclough, pp. 51. Price 1s. 6d. Keating and Co. 1817.

**AUDI alteram partem.** Mr. Fairclough requests a hearing on behalf of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and by all means let us hear what he has to say. He commences his remarks on Mr. Fletcher's Lectures, by lamenting that though the dearest interests of mankind are involved in a proper investigation of religious truths, it seldom happens that inquiry of this kind is either fairly or profitably conducted. 'Passion and prejudice instilled into the mind from early infancy, nourished and matured by educational habits, but too often warp the intellect, and prevent it from embracing obvious truths.' There is, it must be confessed, much truth in this sentiment; but is the process of free inquiry a tenet of Roman Catholicism? It is the very basis of Protestantism, and in this respect, there is an essential difference between its professors, and the members of a Church whose whole proceedings are opposed to the investigation of religious tenets and customs. Without further enlargement on the topics suggested by Mr.

Fairclough's opening paragraph, we would take the liberty of admonishing him, that the reasons which he has been pleased to assign in the preceding sentence, as the causes which operate unfavourably against the interests of truth, and lead men astray into error and falsehood, may be as strong in their influence on his own mind as on that of any other person. Mr. F. is, we perceive, a stout declaimer against the partial conduct of other writers; he complains that 'argument and sound reasoning' are discarded by controvertists, and inveighs vehemently against the practice of misrepresenting an opponent's sentiments: we shall consider the conformity of his own practice with his professions. On turning over the first leaf of Mr. Fairclough's pamphlet, we meet with the following sentence.

'Mr. Fletcher prettily informs us, that Jesus Christ foreseeing the undue honours which would be paid in future ages to his Virgin Mother, treated her upon all occasions with apparent harshness and neglect.'

Now let us turn to Mr. Fletcher's pages. After supporting, which he very satisfactorily does, his statement, that not the shadow of scriptural authority can be adduced to warrant the practice of adoring the 'Virgin,' and rendering to her acts of homage and worship, he proceeds:

'The conduct of the Saviour towards her, seems as if prophetically intended for the very purpose of preventing any sanction from being derived in favour of such idolatrous veneration, from his own personal behaviour. When she discovered on one occasion a disposition to dictate to the Saviour as to the exercise of his miraculous powers, he replied,—"Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not come," (John ii, 4.) Just before his death he commended her with filial affection to the care of his beloved disciple; and if in any circumstances it would have been natural to have stated her claims to their full extent, it would have been when performing the last act of duty towards her. But not a syllable of that affecting interview relates to the subject, and the whole of the disciple's obligation is confined to the discharge of filial duties.' *Lectures*, p. 290.

Whether it be to shew his learning, or to display his love of truth, or to obtain credit on the ground of modesty, we cannot tell, but Mr. Fairclough has embellished his title-page with a Latin motto: '*Si ignoras, disce; si nosti, erubescere*;'—'If you be ignorant, learn; if you already know, be ashamed.' Mr. Fletcher's book was open before Mr. Fairclough. We have thought it our duty to confront the passage with his statement. What shall we think of his honesty, or his honour, in telling his readers, that Mr. Fletcher informs us that Jesus treated his mother upon all occasions with apparent harshness and



neglect? He cannot allege that this misrepresentation originated in ignorance or mistake, and we therefore think that every reader will expect from him the glow of shame and self-reproach, as an exemplification of the '*erubescere*' in his motto.

The assertions in this pamphlet are hardy in the extreme: it is really surprising that any man should risk his reputation by exposing himself so openly to detection as does the present Author. Here are specimens of his bold assertions.

'Jesus Christ neither wrote himself, nor commanded his Apostles to write after his ascension.' p. 5.

"Write," said Jesus Christ to the Apostle John at Patmos, after his ascension, "Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter."

'St. Clement, and St. Polycarp, who had both been instructed by the Apostles, constantly admonished the faithful to *listen* to their pastors. Where will Mr. Fletcher discover in their writings and exhortations to their converts, to apply to Scripture, in order to find a rule of faith which they themselves had never learned?'

Clement and Polycarp both refer the readers of their epistles to the Scriptures, but they do not constantly admonish the faithful to *listen* to their pastors. On this subject they do not contain a single word, for though they both speak of the Christians of their time as submitting themselves to the Presbyter of their own communities, they never admonish them to *listen* to traditionary instructions. Mr. Fairclough, we presume, has read the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp; he has not therefore the plea of ignorance to urge for this misrepresentation of their contents. Were his statement however correct, it would be of no advantage to his cause; for it might well comport with the most perfect deference to Scripture, as the sole rule of faith, and with the absolute exclusion of tradition, as authoritative in religion, that the early Christians were exhorted by Clement and Polycarp to *listen* to their pastors; it being by no means an uncommon circumstance for Protestant writers, who exclude traditionary faith as a rule of conscience, to exhort their readers to listen to their pastors.

Who can peruse without a smile the following charge and query urged with so much gravity by the Author?

'Mr. Fletcher is determined to support his system even at the expence of his own principles. He is not content with the private discovery of *his* rule of faith in Scripture, but he wishes that other people should understand the texts, which he brings forward to prove his system, in the same sense which he is pleased to confer upon them. How can he reconcile this with his principle of private judgment, and private examination?' p. 7.

The practice and the principle are in strict accordance, and Mr. Fairclough's query can be provided with a very satisfactory answer in few words. No principle of private judgement or private examination is violated by a statement of our opinions, and the exhibition of the best reasons which we can adduce in their support, addressed to the consideration of rational creatures, with whom it entirely remains, as an admitted and sacred right, to investigate their truth, and to receive or reject them as they themselves may freely determine.

Mr. Fairclough has an admirable method of determining the spuriousness or genuineness of a written document. 'Mr. Fletcher,' he says, 'ought to have known that St. Chrysostom had already composed one treatise on St. Matthew; there was therefore, no necessity for his composing a second.' Excellent! Dr. Barrow wrote one exposition on the creed; there was therefore no necessity for his composing another;—therefore, the larger exposition is not the genuine production of the Dr.'s pen!—which is proof irresistible of its spuriousness! Mr. Fairclough, we think, might have found something better than this to allege against the *opus imperfectum* ascribed to Chrysostom. In the 14th and 15th pages, we have some supposed scriptural proofs of the Author's allegation, that the Romish Church is in possession of tradition as a rule of faith; 'testimonies which even Mr. Fletcher cannot but acknowledge.' Here they are:

'St. Paul writing to his favourite disciple Timothy, admonishes him thus, "Hold the form of sound words which thou hast heard from me:"—"preserve this valuable deposit by the assistance of the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in us." 2 Epis. c. 1—"Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus; and the things which thou hast heard from me before many witnesses, the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also." Idem. c. 2.

Admirable testimonies! The things which Timothy had heard from Paul, are as remote from Mr. Fairclough's knowledge, and as much unknown to the Romish Hierarchy, as are the first words which Eve addressed to Adam. The passages which he has cited, certainly prove that Timothy had received instructions from the Apostle Paul. Mr. Fairclough, however, must reckon on a large share of credulity in his readers, in presuming to allege these passages as 'testimonies' to the existing traditions of his Church as a rule of faith. So much for the testimonies; now for argument.

'We may rationally suppose, that Jesus Christ when he performed these miracles, mentioned by St. John, took the opportunity of delivering some instructions relative to faith and morals, since we know that it was his regular custom, upon almost every occasion,



when he wrought the miracles which are recorded in Scripture. St. John, who certainly wrote the last of the divinely inspired writers, says in his second and third Epistles, "having more things to write unto you, I would not by paper and ink;" hence we may, I think, fairly infer that many things were delivered by the Apostles, by word of mouth to their disciples, and by them to the universal church, without ever having been written." p. 15.

Mr. Fairclough excels as a dialectician: 'We may rationally suppose'—'We may, I think, fairly infer,'—are master specimens of his art. Ask your opponent for proof positive, and then refute him by supposition! The Apostle John, anticipating an early interview with his friend Gaius, reserves himself for the occasion, and therefore writes the more briefly: and what has this to do with proving the necessity of tradition as a rule of faith in the Church of Rome? Can Mr. Fairclough furnish us with the communications which the Apostle John made *viva voce* to his friend Gaius? We may, we think, 'fairly infer,' that he is profoundly ignorant of them.

Mr. Fairclough is quite an adept in the art of obtaining scriptural testimony and support to his propositions, be they what they may. The original import of the words which he cites, he does not care to ascertain, and he is equally indifferent to the limitations which bound their meaning and application. They are words of Scripture, and that is enough for him. They must bear the sense which he is pleased to give them, and must bend as his plastic hand shall mould them. See how skilful is his management.

'Catholics, in admitting Scripture and tradition, receive them from their pastors, interpreted according to the sense in which the universal church understands them. They well know that, in embracing this rule, they cannot err, since Christ has promised to remain with his church till the end of time, and says to her, "he that hears you, hears me; and he that despises you, despises me." p. 42.

These words were spoken by our Lord to the seventy disciples, in reference to the ministry which he appointed them to discharge; it is therefore a gross perversion of them to connect them, as the Author does, with either the church or the pastors of the church, as interpreters of Scripture and tradition. Jesus Christ, in connecting a result so important with the ministry of the seventy, furnished them with the means of asserting their claims, as his authoritative messengers and servants, in the miraculous powers which he conferred upon them; and when the priests of the Church of Rome prove to us, in the same way, that Christ is with them, they will effectually command our assent to their doctrine.

Mr. Fletcher had remarked, that in the writings of the primitive Fathers, not a single passage can be found on the sacrifice

of the mass for the souls in purgatory, incense, chrism, holy water, wax lights, splendid garments, &c. &c ; and that in the New Testament there is not the shadow of allusion to such things as these observances, which are in the Romish Church supported by the authority of Apostolic traditions. To this Mr. Fairclough replies,

‘ The Liturgy, or public form of worship, which St. Justin describes as in common use among the Christians of his day, bears an exact resemblance to the magnificent liturgy seen by St. John in heaven. The Apostle gives us a lively representation of the peculiar and splendid garments of the ministers, and the rich ornamented apparatus round the throne of the Lamb. Will Mr. Fletcher say that here is not the shadow of allusion to the mode in which the sacrifice of the mass is now performed ?’ p. 30.

So much for the allusions in the New Testament. Your inquiry is directed to the forms and practice of Christian worship on earth, and the figurative representations of the Apocalypse, which refer to the heavenly state, are adduced for your conviction ! Now for the primitive Fathers.

‘ There is not,’ says Mr. Fletcher, ‘ a single passage in the Fathers, which mentions the sacrifice of the mass for the souls in purgatory.’ When Mr. Fletcher made this assertion, he must, I think, have presumed a little, either on the credulity or the ignorance of his readers. He may find in Tertullian mention made of the anniversary sacrifice of the mass for the souls of the departed.

‘ The Father’s own words will, perhaps, not be unacceptable ; “ Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur, caro ungitur ut anima consecratur, caro signatur ut anima muniatur, caro manus impositione adumbratur ut et anima Spiritu Dei illuminetur, caro corpore and (et) sanguine Christi vescitur ut et anima de Deo saginetur. The body is washed, that the soul may be cleansed ? the body is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated ; the body is signed with the sign of the cross, that the soul may be fortified ; the body is overspread by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated by the spirit of God ; the flesh partakes of the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be filled with God. Lib. de resurrectione, c. 8.’ p. 33.

Whether the charge of ‘ presuming a little on the credulity, or the ignorance of his readers,’ be just in its imputation to Mr. Fletcher, or to his opponent, will, we apprehend, be settled without much difficulty or hesitation by a sober reader. Is there a single syllable in the quotation from Tertullian, which speaks of ‘ the souls in purgatory ?’ Mr. Fairclough betrays his own conviction that it is entirely silent on this point ; for though he pledges himself to the proof of it, he feels himself over-ruled by the words of the Father, and substitutes—‘ the souls of the departed,’ the terms in his conclusion for—‘ the souls in purgatory,’ which are those of the proposition he engages to demonstrate by



his citation. The passage in Tertullian is just as decisive a proof of the antiquity of Thomas à Becket's shrine, as it is of 'the sacrifice of the mass for the souls in purgatory;' and till Mr. Fairclough can dig out of Tertullian some passage that shall be more to his purpose, he must stand humbled in the view of all impartial men.

In the next page (31) Mr. Fairclough states, that 'St Justin was contemporary with the Apostles themselves.' He can perhaps explain in what sense a man can be contemporary with persons who were all dead before the date of his own birth.

"It is to be observed," says Mr. Fletcher, "That many traditions of the Church of Rome are directly contrary to the declaration of the sacred volume. What can be more explicit than the prohibition of images in religious worship, and yet, in opposition to the divine law, the Church of Rome has declared that the use of them is supported by tradition, and that 'whoever condemns them is accursed.'" (page 85.) But let me ask Mr. Fletcher, is not the prohibition, "thou shalt not kill," equally explicit? Yet I suppose he will not condemn every magistrate, as guilty of a breach of the fifth commandment, when he is under the necessity of sentencing criminals to be punished by death." p. 35.

We have here another specimen of Mr. Fairclough's skill in argument, or rather of the manner in which he can substitute sophistry in the place of reasoning. The prohibition לא תרצח is, in English, "Thou shalt do no murder;" which as completely saves Mr. Fletcher's consistency, as it demonstrates the flimsy texture of his opponent's sophism.

This is the first of a series of pamphlets, which Mr. Fairclough intends publishing in reply to the Author of the "Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion." His objects are to prove the insufficiency of Scripture as the rule of faith; and to establish the doctrine of the Romish Church, that Scripture and Tradition constitute the proper rule. These, he imagines, he has effected in the present publication, and in the next we are to witness his achievement in determining the question—To whom belongs the exclusive right of judging in matters of religion? Whether Mr. Fletcher will notice this reply, is unknown to us. The principal point in dispute is not, however, fully disclosed in the pages of Mr. Fairclough's present pamphlet; for though the rule of faith assumed by Protestants on the one hand, and the professors of the Roman Catholic religion on the other, are different, it is the power challenged by the latter of authoritatively pronouncing on the question, and of defining and bounding the principles of religious faith, that constitutes the essential difference between the advocates of the Romish hierarchy and the supporters of religious liberty. Is religion a concern of exclusive individual obligation, or are any persons vested with au-

thority to dictate its principles and its duties? That is the hinge of the whole controversy between the professors of Roman Catholicism and Protestants.

Now it is indisputably the pretension of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, that to their Church belong an exclusive authority and power of dictating religion to the consciences of mankind; that it behoves them to receive the doctrines and customs which this Church shall prescribe; the whole human race therefore have a demand made upon them for the perfect surrender of their consciences to the laws of this Church. With whom then is this power lodged, which is so imperious and absolute? What is this Church, and on what ground does its high authority rest? Both these questions must be answered. We must know the party which requires such a surrender to its dictates; and we must know the reasons on which it grounds such powers. The Romish Church comprises numerous persons who officiate in the services of its altars, and others who attend their ministrations. When the Church is spoken of in the writings and discourses of Roman Catholic professors, are both these classes of persons included in the definition, or only one of them? If the class by which the ministrations of their altars are not conducted, be excluded from the definition, for what reason are they so excluded? If the class to which the 'name,' 'the clergy,' is appropriated, constitute the Church, in what manner do they obtain their admission as members; and is it only when they are assembled together in their collective capacity that they constitute the Church? If the Church be otherwise constituted, who are the persons essential to its formation? These are the essentials of the inquiry, which can only be satisfied by a clear exposition of the several points which it includes. We can assure ourselves most strongly, and most certainly, that wherever and whatsoever this Church may be, its existence and constitution would be explicitly described to us, if it were the will of God that we should submit to its authority. But is not the fact palpable, that the Church, the infallibility and authority of which are maintained by the Romanists, is a pure fiction? For when was the whole number of Christian professors ever assembled together; or when was the whole number of Christian pastors ever met in congregated form? Is it necessary to appeal to history for the proof of impossibilities? The only assemblies of the members of the Church, which even the Romanists themselves adduce, are the ecclesiastical councils; and the composition and proceedings of these bodies, the management by which they were convened, the arts by which their conduct was regulated, and the influence which controlled them, are so notorious, and form so strong a case, as invalidates every pretension of their sanctity and Christian authority. We require from Mr. Fairclough an expli-



cit definition of the term 'Church;' a clear intelligible description of the very persons who constitute the Church, and of the manner in which its members obtain admission. We require proof equally plain and definite, that to these very persons constituting the Church, if such persons can be described, a Divine promise has been given of exemption from errors in judgement and mistakes in practice. And we require the most positive proofs that such a promise has been fulfilled. We should then have the whole subject before us in a tangible form. Till this whole case be conspicuously displayed, and every article of it be made intelligible in its definition and proof, we must treat the whole substance of Mr. Fairclough's pamphlet as an attempt to impose perfectly unmeaning terms upon the understandings of mankind, and to enslave their souls by the assertions of an alleged authority, which is a gross usurpation. The word Church, which is so much paraded in this pamphlet, is, as used by the Author and his associates, perfectly unmeaning. It is made to answer a notable purpose in their hands; but it denotes nothing real, nothing that has existence in any part of the world, or among any people.

Whatever may constitute the rule of faith, whatever may be Scripture, whatever may be tradition, wheresoever these may exist, we claim to be the judges of their pretensions and merits; the 'Church' has no authority to determine the one or the other. In using the writings of antiquity in connexion with our theological inquiries, we attach not the shadow of infallibility to any of them, but consider simply their character as witness. These are considerations which have their foundation in truth, and they are amply sufficient to set aside all Mr. Fairclough's pretensions, as they contain arguments which, in their application to the topics of the sufficiency of Scripture, and the nature and use of tradition, demonstrate the inanity of his propositions, and sweep away the entire mass of his conclusions.

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Art. V. *The Civil and Military History of Germany, from the Landing of Gustavus to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia.* By the late Francis Hare Naylor, Esq. In Two Vols. 30s. Murray, London, 1816.

(Concluded from Vol. VII. Page 545.)

**T**HE Polish campaigns in which Gustavus Adolphus and the Swedes had been engaged previously to the more regular and momentous war in Germany, had been without doubt, of essential use in training up a school of accomplished officers, and suggesting a variety of important improvements in the distribution and discipline of the Swedish army. The Poles were principally horsemen, and their system of warfare was adapted to the irregularity of their troops. They had frequently exhausted both the patience and the vigour of the Swedes, by continual and desultory skirmishing; and sometimes

had borne them down by the weight and rapidity of a simultaneous attack. In opposition to this, Gustavus had been compelled to adopt a plan of movement and array, which, without departing too much from the strength and density of the old system, should enable him to encounter the lightly accoutred horsemen and the flying armies of the Poles, with manœuvres equally rapid, but with far more scientific combinations. He broke down the unwieldy masses of the old formation, took away part of the cumbrous harness of the individual soldier, and rendered the machinery of the whole more simple and manageable. He employed science instead of mechanism. He relied upon skill rather than on routine, and proved the superiority of elasticity and impetus over mere weight. In the conduct of his campaign, the superiority of his system was always conspicuous, and he was mainly indebted to it for his success in his various engagements. In the battle of Leipsic, he conquered Tilly by the force of his genius, as completely as the Swedes routed the Germans by their discipline and valour; but his disadvantages were so great, by the dispersion of the Saxon auxiliaries, that nothing could have saved him from ruin, but the rapid movements of his divisions, and the precision of their manœuvres. The passage of the Lech was another decisive test of the excellence of the system which he had invented, and could not probably have been effected upon any other plan. The action of Lutzen seems to have been less scientifically fought, than any of the preceding engagements. It was more of a *mêlée*, and was at last turned against Wallenstein, less by the skill and valour of Bernard of Saxe Weimar, than by the perfect frenzy of the Swedish soldiers at the loss of their idolized monarch.

Mr. Naylor seems to have been extremely reluctant to credit the charge which has frequently been urged against Gustavus, that he sought, under the brilliant semblance of vindicating the liberties of Germany, to fix the imperial crown upon his own head, as the chief of the Protestant league. We know not why the partisans of this great man should be peculiarly tenacious respecting this point. Even if it were undeniably established, it would detract but little from the character of the Swedish hero. If ever there was a legitimate object of ambition, surely this was one; and if as a result of the war, this event could have taken place, it might, at least in our opinion, have prevented the occurrence of many a conflict which has since disturbed the peace of Europe. But whether it affects the character of Gustavus favourably or injuriously, there are so many circumstances which combine to fix upon him the policy or the guilt of such a design, that we find it impossible to evade the force of their accumulated evidence. Schiller, always eloquent, is unusually energetic when he reaches this



point, and we are unable to comprehend on what grounds Mr. Naylor could resist his conclusions.

The intelligence of the death of Gustavus, was received at Vienna and Madrid with a perfect intoxication of delight; and shamelessly celebrated, says Bougeant, by *rejouissances presque publiques*. Austrian intrigue went instantly and actively to work. The chiefs of the Protestant States, were assailed by promises of the most seducing kind, and an attempt was made to corrupt even Oxenstiern, by the offer of a magnificent bribe. It is unnecessary to say more than that it was immediately rejected with the utmost scorn by the high-minded Swede, whose whole powers of intellect and determination were devoted to the accomplishment of the great work which his friend and master had so prosperously commenced. Notwithstanding the cabals and small policy of the German States, and the embarrassing pretensions and encroachments of Richelieu, Oxenstiern went steadily forward. He convened a congress at Heilbronn; and in order to prevent the endless wranglings respecting precedency, with which the Germans were wont to preface the most serious business, he adopted the effectual remedy of not suffering chair, stool, or bench, to be brought into the apartment. From such an assembly as this, little good was to be expected. The poor and venal princes of Germany swarmed round Feuquieres, the French ambassador, as their descendants have since assailed the envoys of England, clamouring for subsidies, and which the more dexterous Gallic diplomatist satisfied himself with paying either in promises or in evasions. One object, however, was gained; the convention decreed the continuation of the war, a sure proof of the poverty of Austria; for had the Emperor been able to bribe sufficiently high, the Swedes would most assuredly have been left without an effective ally. A mutiny of the Swedish army was quelled by the popularity of Duke Bernard, of Saxe Weimar; and under his command and that of the Swedish generals Banier and Horn, the campaign proceeded with activity and success.

But the most important and influential series of events in the history of these times, is to be traced throughout the conduct of Wallenstein, in such a complication of subtlety and imbecility, hesitation and enterprise, incautious frankness and disgusting treachery, as can scarcely be paralleled. The infirmities of this extraordinary man, seem to have completely neutralized his talents. He was addicted to astrology to an excess that perfectly blinded his understanding. His astrologer Seni was his infallible counsellor, and his deep designs were undertaken or abandoned, prosecuted or interrupted, at the mandate of a miserable star-gazer. Fully aware that Wallenstein was engaged in traitorous correspondence with the

Swedes and Saxons, the Court of Vienna engaged him with his own weapons, and fully proved its superiority in treachery and intrigue, though his schemes were so cautiously planned, as to require the violation of a confessor's oath of secrecy, before they could be detected. Instead of those open and legitimate measures of proscription, which a generous and enlightened policy would have suggested, the Austrian cabinet determined on assassination, and employed, for that detestable purpose, the arm of foreigners, and who, with great regret we are compelled to say, were our own countrymen, one Scotch, and two Irish officers in the army, and in the high favour of Wallenstein. On the 15th of February, 1647, they effected their object, by a massacre, after a fierce struggle, of Wallenstein's principal officers and confidants, and immediately proceeded to complete their work by destroying the chief conspirator.

‘ Upon knocking rudely at the gate, Devoreux was admonished, by a page in waiting, to beware of disturbing the duke, who had just retired to his bed-chamber. “ Friend,” said Devoreux fiercely, “ this is no time for repose,” and he rushed into the house with his followers. The door of Wallenstein's apartment being locked, the leader of the banditti asked for the key, which not being brought, he attempted to burst it open. The duke, upon hearing the report of a musket, fired accidentally by one of the soldiers, ran to the window to call the guard, when his ears were assailed with shrieks and lamentations. They were the cries of conjugal affection, uttered by the wives of the slaughtered generals, imploring vengeance upon their base assassins. The height of the window rendering it impossible to escape, he called aloud for assistance: the massive door, which had hitherto resisted the efforts of its numerous assailants, at length gave way, and a host of ruffians, armed with swords and halberts, burst impetuously into the chamber. The duke was alone, and standing near a table in his night-gown. It is a singular circumstance, that there was neither sword nor pistol in the room; and, what is still more extraordinary, the door was not defended by a single sentinel, though he was usually guarded by an hundred soldiers. “ This,” says Harte, “ looks as if he was not conscious of any design against his life.” But does it not rather afford a strong presumption, that his attendants were implicated in the plot, and had purposely left him destitute of defence? It is clear, however, that he did not entertain the smallest mistrust, or he would otherwise have been surrounded by Tersky's horse, who were blindly devoted to his service.

‘ “ Art thou the traitor,” asked Devoreux sternly, “ who art preparing to join the enemies of thy country, and to dethrone our beloved sovereign?” The pride of Wallenstein disdained a reply. Upon being told that a few short moments would be granted him for prayer, he uncovered his bosom, stretched forth his arms in dignified silence, and receiving the partisan of Devoreux in his heart, expired without uttering a single groan, or even betraying the slightest emotion.’ Vol. II. pp. 105—106.



The command of the Austrian army was conferred upon a prince of the Imperial family, aided by Gallas and Piccolomini; and after various vicissitudes and manœuvres, it encountered the far inferior army of the Swedes at Nordlingen. Had the Swedes been commanded by Gustavus Horn, or had his counsels been regarded by Duke Bernard, the result might have been reversed or mitigated; but the consequences were most disastrous to the Swedes, whose army was defeated *a plate couture*, the veteran infantry of Sweden almost annihilated, and one of her most accomplished generals, Horn, taken prisoner. Oxenstiern remained firm, undismayed by the ruin which seemed accumulating around him. He collected the troops, procured money from France, and made head against the Austrians in every quarter. Even when deserted by Saxony, and by nearly the whole of the Protestant league, he 'still bore up and steered right onward,' till he had consummated his work. The Saxons were defeated by Banier, who maintained the disproportioned conflict with unrivalled skill. A second time this great general defeated the Saxo-Austrian army, at Wistock, with immense loss to his antagonists, and trifling injury to his own troops. On the 15th of February, 1636, Ferdinand the Second died, in his fifty-ninth year, and his sceptre and his name, with some portion of his character, descended to his son. Of the deceased monarch Mr. Naylor remarks, that

'The erroneous system pursued in his education, imprinted on his mind a propensity towards bigotry, which decided his character through life, and led him to confound the duties of a monk with those of a sovereign. Thus his piety assumed the gloomy hue of superstition, and induced him to persecute with inquisitorial severity all who questioned the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, or preferred the evangelical simplicity of the primitive church, to the idolatrous pomp of the Vatican. A slave to the vindictive passions of the Jesuits, and adopting their interests as those of the Almighty, he believed himself acting conformably to the divine command, while he kindled a war the most disastrous of any that ever desolated Europe, and rendered himself the scourge of mankind.'

Vol. II. p. 263.

His death produced little change either in the general aspect or the particular conduct of affairs. Ferdinand the Third pursued his father's measures, but his character was of a less tenacious cast; he was more 'infirm of purpose,' and his determinations were more influenced by external circumstances. The war continued, the exploits of Banier and of Saxe Weimar, emulated the adventurous achievements of the heroes of romance; but on the 18th of June, 1639, the latter, in the full career of victory, fell a premature victim either to poison or a

putrid fever. The campaigns of 1637, and 8, had been destructive to the Austrian armies opposed to Banier, and in 1639, he defeated them completely near Chemnitz, in Saxony, burst into Bohemia, and appeared before Prague, where he again routed the Imperialists under a new general, who was taken prisoner. The conduct of Banier in Bohemia, has deeply sullied the brightness of his fame. So atrocious was the licence in which he indulged his soldiers, that Mr. N. supposes that some unrecorded circumstance must have occurred to 'inflame his indignation to the highest pitch.' The successes of the Swedish army roused the Emperor to unwonted exertion, and strong armies under able commanders began to press upon the thinned and exhausted divisions of Banier.

'Such was the situation of the Swedish army at the conclusion of the campaign of 1639; that of the ensuing year did not open with much better prospects. But it was amid the storms and convulsions of an agitated world, that Banier's abilities shone forth in all their natural lustre. Surrounded on every side by powerful armies, if he attempted to advance, he had to contend against the aggregate strength of Austria, marshalled under her ablest commanders; and, if he wished to retreat, all Saxony and Prussia were assembled in his rear, animated by every feeling that can inspire resolution, the love of independence, the thirst of glory, and the insatiate desire of revenge. In this desperate crisis he contrived to reach a favourite position near Melnik, where he hoped to remain till the arrival of Königsmark, who was hastening with considerable reinforcements from Westphalia.

'Königsmark was an officer of the highest promise, and had been greatly distinguished at the head of the Westphalian army. Popularity of manners combined with intrepid courage, had attracted the love and admiration of the soldiers, who were ready to follow him through every danger. Notwithstanding the comparative weakness of his force, his march through Franconia and Thuringia was signalized by a rapid succession of triumphs; so that, in spite of all the obstacles which he had to contend with, he arrived safely on the confines of Bohemia.' Vol. II. pp. 324—325.

In 1641, Banier died, and was succeeded in his command by Tostenson, perhaps the ablest officer in the school of Gustavus. Tortured and rendered helpless by gout, the activity of his mind supplied his bodily incapacity. He advanced from victory to victory, ruined the army of Gallas, defeated the Austrians at Leipsic and Yankowitz, and threatened Vienna itself. Soon after this he resigned the command. The succeeding campaigns were admirably conducted by Wrangel and Königsmark, and the surprise of Prague by the latter officer, had a strong influence in determining Austria to agree to the treaty of Westphalia. In this sketch of the Swedish campaigns, we have not thought it necessary to advert to the



series of operations which were carried on under the auspices of France in the countries adjacent to the Upper Rhine. These are much more generally known, and the names of Turenne, Condé, Guébriant, are familiar to an English ear.

It has rarely happened that two such men as Oxenstiern and Richelieu, have appeared on the political arena together; and it has occurred yet more rarely, that such men have been induced to make common cause against an individual enemy, and it was calamitous to Austria that they were united against the Imperial policy. It was however fortunate for Germany, and the result was a gigantic stride towards the liberation of Europe from the thralldom of tyranny and bigotry. As a specimen of Mr. Naylor's talent in the delineation of character, we shall subjoin his estimate of Richelieu. It is perhaps sufficiently just on the whole, but it is very deficient in those finer touches on which the effect of literary portraits essentially depends.

‘In order justly to appreciate the abilities of Richelieu, we ought to compare the situation of France when he was first entrusted with the direction of affairs, with that in which he left it at his death. He found the kingdom distracted by domestic dissensions, and the royal prerogative curtailed and fettered by the turbulent ambition of a haughty aristocracy. Before he quitted the world, he had stripped the nobility of all those dangerous privileges, which are incompatible with the good of society; and which, though frequently exercised for their private aggrandisement, were hardly ever employed for the benefit of the people. Till the cardinal was invested with absolute authority—and authority more absolute was never trusted to the hands of a subject—Europe had been accustomed to contemplate, with hopeless dismay, the overwhelming power of Austria, sweeping progressively away every feeble barrier that checked for a moment her ambitious career; but, while he ruled in the name of a contemptible bigot, he not only raised an insurmountable barrier against her future encroachments, but laid the foundations of that extensive glory, to which his country attained during the following reign. Assuming success as the criterion of merit, and, when a proper field is opened for the display of genius it may fairly be taken as such, Richelieu unquestionably deserves an eminent station among the most illustrious statesmen, who ever excited the applause or the execration of mankind.

‘Such are the rude outlines of the character of a minister, whose vigorous counsels gave strength and stability to a government, which civil dissensions and a disputed succession had rendered the seat of anarchy and confusion. The portrait of Richelieu, like every figure of colossal proportions, appears to greatest advantage when viewed at a distance; but, when minutely inspected, presents to the eye of the judicious critic many striking defects. The same haughty spirit, which, invested with the splendid form of ambition, impelled him to undertake the humiliation of Austria, when influencing his actions

in private life, assumed the less dignified character of vanity. Not content with excelling the greater part of his contemporaries in valour, and wisdom, and enterprise, he had the weakness to aspire to equal celebrity for his skill in managing a horse, or turning an epigram; though, in all probability, he was much inferior in horsemanship to a common dragoon, and was indebted for the praises bestowed on his literary productions, to the borrowed pen of a poetical flatterer.' Vol. II. pp. 479—480.

At length, all parties were exhausted by this long and ruinous contest, and entered in good faith on the work of pacification. We have not thought it expedient, in this rapid statement, to notice the various diplomatic manœuvres resorted to by the different cabinets; they were too numerous and too complicated for brief detail, and too obviously faithless to have any influence upon military arrangements. But in 1645, on the 10th of April, the Congresses of Westphalia were opened; on the first of June, the *projets* of the respective courts were tendered; and on the 19th of November, 1645, 'they began,' in the words of Pütter, "to act with vigour." The negotiations were conducted under the mediation of the Pope and the Venetians; and in consequence of the difficulties occasioned by this, and other circumstances, were carried on simultaneously at two different places, Munster, and Osnabruck. At the latter town, the most important of these negotiations, was in discussion between the Swedes and the Protestant States on the one side, and the Emperor on the other, while the transactions at Munster principally regarded France and Austria. The particulars of this important treaty, which was afterwards registered among the fundamental laws of the Empire, would afford little satisfaction to our readers in any abstract which we might be able to give. It may suffice to remark, that beside the usual scramble for indemnifications and cessions of territory, the rights and liberties of conscience were not disregarded, and if they were not recognised and established on that large and liberal ground which they claim on the broad principles of equity and reason, they were at least settled on a foundation more solid and secure than had ever been sanctioned before. In fact, the treaty of Westphalia materially changed the constitutions of the Empire. It finally settled the question respecting the degree of power vested in the Emperor, and the relation in which the German princes stood towards him as their federal head. It moreover regulated, in many important particulars, the system of government in the inferior states. A considerable alteration was introduced into the general habits of living, by the circumstances of the times; and in order to illustrate the manners of a former age, we shall here introduce an extract from a



very able writer, to whom Mr. Naylor has had frequent recourse.

A comparison of the times previous and subsequent to the peace of Westphalia, may afford us instructive information, how much not only the style of living, but the manners and way of thinking at our German courts, are changed. A steward in the service of one of our Dukes, wrote once in his diary—'To day our Duke went with all his young nobles to a tavern, and feasted there the whole day long, for which I had to pay eight dollars (*Dat het Schlamp-ampen*)—There's living for you!' Another Duke sent his son to travel, and wrote a letter by him to an Elector, 'Now that our son is grown up, and rather an awkward lad, we have thought it necessary to send him abroad, and particularly to your highness's court, that he may learn good manners; we have provided him likewise with a servant to travel with him.' The Landgrave Philip, of Hesse Rheinfels, who was born in the year 1541, and died in 1583, at a time when he expected some princes of the Palatine House to visit him, heard that a private man had got some fine large turkeys. That he might treat the Counts Palatine handsomely, he ordered the man to bring him one or two of them for a proper price, which the steward of his household should pay immediately. This Landgrave Philip likewise sent his brother William the Fourth, Landgrave of Hesse Cassell, on the 14th of March, 1575, a long letter, with a lively description of the decline among the Princes, which he said he dreaded would be the consequence of the great increase of expences, which were even then complained of. Among other things, says he, 'Your father, Philip the magnanimous, notwithstanding he was in possession of the whole country, which is now divided into four parts, and had the management of all the concerns of the Schmalcaldic League, had only one chancellor, a doctor, and a secretary. The first of these served him twenty years for eighty florins, the second for fifty, and the third without any salary at all. Now every one of you have more doctors, secretaries, and clerks, for yourselves, and at very high salaries; besides this, each of you has such a number of huntsmen, cooks, and other servants, that there is a huntsman for every hill, a cook for every pot, and a butler to every cask. Then comes your itch for play, gadding about to dances, and visiting foreign Princes, which, says he, is the only way to drain your purses.' He complains too of the Italian luxury in dress, which was the fashion then, such as wearing velvet and silk, and decorating the horses with feathers and velvet cloths,—just as if we were Italian civet cats, which does not suit this country at all. Italian and German luxuries don't agree. The Italians are stately in their dress, but they eat the worse for it, and are sparing in their tables. A dish, consisting of a few eggs and a salad, is enough for them; but Germans must have good eating and their bellies full.'—*Pütter's Historical Development of the Constitution of the Germanic Empire*, by Dornford.—Vol. II, p. 197.

The same Author has elucidated the conduct and consequences of the treaty of Westphalia, with considerable ability;

and some important documents and illustrations relating to the same event may be found in Heiss—*Histoire de l'Empire*.

It is to be regretted that there is not, in these volumes, a more frequent insertion of dates. The errors of press are numerous, and not unfrequently injurious to the meaning.

Art. VI. *Manfred; a Dramatic Poem.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 80. Price 5s. 6d. Murray. London, 1817.

**W**E have taken some pains to point out what we conceive to be the peculiarities of Lord Byron's genius, and to enable our readers to form a discriminating judgement of his productions. If we have at all succeeded in the attempt, they will not, we think, be wholly unprepared to find in the present production a verification of our remark, that the noble Author does not possess the power of embodying in poetry a purely dramatic conception; that he is not capable of that effort of abstraction which is requisite to the imagining and delineating of an individualized portion of our common nature, distinct and different in character from himself. They will not expect, therefore, to discover in *Manfred* a being of any other species or genus than that to which the Childe, the Giaour, Conrad, and Alp, may be referred. They will anticipate alike the hero and the object of the present tale, and will feel assured, that this dramatic poem has very little more of the drama about it, than the mere form of dialogue.

Lord Byron has made a mistake, which, in the case of a poet of inferior genius, would be fatal. This perpetual sameness of sentiment would be insupportably wearisome, were it not for the exquisite and exhaustless beauties of expression by which it is enlivened. There is absolutely nothing of novelty in this poem, except the mysticism and the immaterial machinery; and the latter, although invested with all the charms of song, is of too flimsy and shadowy a nature to interest. The drama is without plot and without purpose; *Manfred* is one of those unintelligible and impossible beings which we meet with only in the regions of sentimental romance; a most interesting and amiable wicked rascal, who glories in not having been the dupe of demons, but claims to be his own destroyer. He is 'a magian,' and deals in spells and adjurations, professes to have 'no sympathy with breathing flesh,' and breathing flesh can therefore have little sympathy with him. He holds converse with destinies, and elements, and witches; is addicted to study, and penance, and solitary vigils; is an astrologer; and quotes Roman history and the Apocalypse. His crimes and his miseries are alike ineffable, and only to be guessed at from the character of his despair. He is, in fact, a very terrible-looking personage, but harmless withal. 'Had he been one of us,' says one of the demons,

' he would have made  
An awful spirit.'



As to the other human *dramatis personæ*, *Messieurs* the Chamois Hunter, the abbot of St. Maurice, Manuel and Herman, they have no pretensions to character, or poetical existence. The part they perform is scarcely more important than that assigned to the all-potent and mysterious Arimanes, which consists in the following imperial decree.

‘ *Nemesis.* Great Arimanes, doth thy will avouch  
The wishes of this mortal?

*Arimanes.* YEA !’

Wholly destitute as the poem is of dramatic merit, our readers will not however imagine that it bears no marks of the master-hand of the poet. Criticism would be thrown away on the present production taken as a whole, but there are passages of considerable beauty. Take for example three of the songs of the spirits of earth and air, whom Manfred summons to appear before him.

‘ *Voice of the SECOND SPIRIT,*

‘ Mont Blanc is the monarch of mountains,

They crowned him long ago

On a throne of rocks, in a robe of clouds,

With a diadem of snow.

Around his waist are forests braeed,

The Avalanche in his hand ;

But ere it fall, that thundering ball

Must pause for my command.

The Glacier’s cold and restless mass

Moves onward day by day ;

But I am he who bids it pass,

Or with its ice delay.

I am the spirit of the place,

Could make the mountain bow

And quiver to his cavern’d base—

And what with me would’st *Thou* ?

‘ *Voice of the THIRD SPIRIT.*

‘ In the blue depth of the waters,

Where the wave hath no strife,

Where the wind is a stranger,

And the sea-snake hath life,

Where the Mermaid is decking

Her green hair with shells ;

Like the storm on the surface

Came the sound of thy spells ;

O’er my calm Hall of Coral

The deep echo roll’d—

To the Spirit of Ocean

Thy wishes unfold !

‘ *FOURTH SPIRIT.*

‘ Where the slumbering earthquake

Lies pillow’d on fire,

And the lakes of bitumen  
 Rise boilingly higher;  
 Where the roots of the Andes  
 Strike deep in the earth,  
 As their summits to heaven  
 Shoot soaringly forth;  
 I have quitted my birth-place,  
 Thy bidding to bide—  
 Thy spell hath subdued me,  
 Thy will be my guide!' pp. 10—12.

The reader will be surprised at the introduction in this scene, of 'the Incantation' printed with "the Prisoners of Chillon;" the more so, as it will puzzle him to discover who is the performer of the Curse, as well as who is its subject, and for what purpose his Lordship has chosen to insert it in this place. The following soliloquy is one of the best passages in the poem.

'The stars are forth, the moon above the tops  
 Of the snow-shining mountains.—Beautiful!  
 I linger yet with Nature, for the night  
 Hath been to me a more familiar face  
 Than that of man; and in her starry shade  
 Of dim and solitary loveliness,  
 I learn'd the language of another world.  
 I do remember me, that in my youth,  
 When I was wandering,—upon such a night  
 I stood within the Colosseum's wall,  
 'Midst the chief relics of almighty Rome;  
 The trees which grew along the broken arches  
 Waved dark in the blue midnight, and the stars  
 Shone through the rents of ruin; from afar  
 The watchdog bayed beyond the Tiber; and  
 More near from out the Cæsars' palace came  
 The owl's long cry, and, interruptedly,  
 Of distant sentinels the fitful song  
 Begun and died upon the gentle wind.  
 Some cypresses beyond the time-worn breach  
 Appeared to skirt the horizon, yet they stood  
 Within a bow-shot—where the Cæsars dwelt,  
 And dwell the tuneless birds of night amidst  
 A grove which springs through levell'd battlements,  
 And twines its roots with the imperial hearths,  
 Ivy usurps the laurel's place of growth;—  
 But the gladiators' bloody Circus stands,  
 A noble wreck in ruinous perfection!  
 While Cæsar's chambers, and the Augustan halls,  
 Grovel on earth in indistinct decay.—  
 And thou didst shine, thou rolling moon, upon  
 All this, and cast a wide and tender light,  
 Which softened down the hoar austerity



Of rugged desolation, and filled up,  
As 'twere, anew, the gaps of centuries;  
Leaving that beautiful which still was so,  
And making that which was not, till the place  
Became religion, and the heart ran o'er  
With silent worship of the great of old!—  
The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule  
Our spirits from their urns.— pp. 68, 69.

Manfred, like Alp, is warned by a phantom, of his dissolution on the morrow; and is accordingly prepared for the demons who punctually wait upon him, to claim their right and title to him as their subject. He denies, however, their power to summon him, and begs leave to 'die alone.' The spirit who first makes his appearance, finding him contumacious, calls in his attendant brethren, but Manfred still sets them at defiance; and the infernal messenger begins to hold parley with him in the following style.

*SPIRIT.* 'Reluctant mortal!

Is this the Magian who would so pervade  
The world invisible, and make himself  
Almost our equal?—Can it be that thou  
Art thus in love with life? the very life  
Which made thee wretched!

*MAN.* Thou false fiend, thou liest!

My life is in its last hour,—that I know,  
Nor would redeem a moment of that hour;  
I do not combat against death, but thee  
And thy surrounding angels; my past power  
Was purchased by no compact with thy crew,  
But by superior science—penance—daring—  
And length of watching—strength of mind and skill  
In knowledge of our fathers—when the earth  
Saw men and spirits walking side by side,  
And gave ye no supremacy: I stand  
Upon my strength—I do defy—deny—  
Spurn back, and scorn ye!—

*SPIRIT.* But thy many crimes  
Have made thee—

*MAN.* What are they to such as thee?

Must crimes be punished but by other crimes,  
And greater criminals?—Back to thy hell!  
Thou hast no power upon me, that I feel;  
Thou never shalt possess me, that I know:  
What I have done is done; I bear within  
A torture which could nothing gain from thine;  
The mind which is immortal makes itself  
Requital for its good or evil thoughts—  
Is its own origin of ill and end—  
And its own place and time—its innate sense,  
When stripp'd of this mortality, derives

No colour from the fleeting things without;  
 But is absorb'd in sufferance and in joy,  
 Born from the knowledge of his own desert.  
 Thou didst not tempt me, and thou couldst not tempt me;  
 I have not been thy dupe nor am thy prey—  
 But was my own destroyer, and will be  
 My own hereafter.—Back, ye baffled fiends!  
 The hand of death is on me—but not yours!

[*The Demons disappear.*

ABBOT. Alas! how pale thou art—thy lips are white—  
 And thy breast heaves—and in thy gasping throat  
 The accents rattle—Give thy prayers to heaven—  
 Pray—albeit but in thought,—but die not thus.

MAN. 'Tis over—my dull eyes can fix thee not;  
 But all things swim around me, and the earth  
 Heaves as it were beneath me. Fare thee well—  
 Give me thy hand.

[*MANFRED expires.*

ABBOT. Cold—cold—even to the heart—  
 But yet one prayer—alas! how fares it with thee?—  
 He's gone—his soul hath ta'en its earthless flight—  
 Whither? I dread to think—but he is gone." pp. 73—75.

We acquit the noble Author of any design to *burlesque* the awful realities which he brings upon the scene; but, to make use of a very homely expression, the poet in these passages is playing with *edge tools*. Manfred tells the abbot, in another part,

'I shall not choose a mortal  
 To be my mediator.'

Does this infer the Author's conviction of the necessity of a mediator not a mortal? We hope that it does: but these are not subjects for a dramatic poem. Upon the whole, this manuscript was scarcely worth being transmitted from the Continent: it will not raise Lord Byron's reputation.

Art. VII. *Pastoral Letters on Nonconformity.* Addressed to a young Member of a Society of Protestant Dissenters, 12mo. pp. xvi. 126. Price 3s. 6d. Black and Son, 1817.

**T**HERE are two extremes against which it is equally necessary to guard in all matters of religious controversy, and especially in those to which these '*Pastoral Letters*' refer. The one is, that '*esprit du corps*,' that vehemence of party spirit which magnifies the most trifling points of difference, into legitimate grounds of separation; the other is, that false candour, which would represent questions of vital importance, as doubtful or indifferent. Time was, when the danger lay almost exclusively on the side of the former of these extremes, and when good men, men of sound wisdom and exemplary



piety, were induced by various circumstances to place an undue stress on matters in themselves unimportant and trifling, contending either for or against them with all the zeal and earnestness that usually attach to polemical discussions. But in the present day, the danger lies, we apprehend, chiefly on the other side, since it is evident that questions so deeply interesting as those which relate to the order, the constitution, and the government of the Christian Church, are treated by many persons as matters of speculation on which it is of little importance to decide. The work before us, is admirably adapted, so far as it goes, to guard against both these extremes, and is therefore peculiarly fitted to the present state of the Christian Church. It breathes all that spirit of love and universal benevolence, by which the present period is happily distinguished; combined with that inflexible adherence to essential principles, which truth must ever demand.

A disposition has lately prevailed, not only among members of the Establishment, but even among many who are accustomed to worship with Protestant Dissenters, to condemn altogether any discussion of these topics, in what spirit soever that discussion may be conducted, as uncalled for and highly injudicious in the present day. 'Is this a moment,' say they, 'in which to revive the controversy, when the best men on either side are in the frequent habit of meeting and co-operating together in support of religious institutions? Is it not most ill-judged at such an auspicious season to provoke hostilities, and induce alienation of mind among the most zealous defenders of our common faith? No: let us rather forget our little differences, intent upon prosecuting the great work in which we are unitedly engaged.'

We will yield to none in our attachment to peace and Christian union; yet we do conceive that even these blessings are too dearly purchased, if they are obtained by the unhallowed compromise or abandonment of any part of revealed truth. There are indeed times, and places, in which a strict neutrality should be kept, and in which it should be as slightly remembered as possible, that such distinctions exist as those of Churchman and Dissenter. Whatever may be the violations of neutrality on the part of members of the Establishment, we should exceedingly regret that any case should occur, and we do not believe it has occurred, in which a Dissenter meeting with his brethren of the endowed sect, for a common purpose, and on neutral ground, should commence an assault by obtruding his peculiar tenets, or boasting of the greater purity and excellence of his mode of worship. But when each party retires to its own post, bearing, it may be hoped, some portion of that hallowed feeling which pervaded the assembly, that

moment, so far from being unfavourable, seems best fitted for the calm and impartial investigation not only of the points on which they are agreed, but of those also on which they differ. So far from feeling an objection, in the present state of the Christian Church throughout our land, to publications like the present, written in the spirit of Christian meekness and charity, we feel a conviction that this is of all times the most favourable for a temperate discussion of what are called the principles or grounds of Dissent.

It is not a matter of surprise, though it may occasion regret, that the controversial writings of a former age on this subject betray a lamentable deficiency of Christian temper. The sufferings of their fathers, and, in many cases, the personal wrongs of these Nonconformist advocates, were too fresh in their remembrance, to admit of cool and impartial discussion. No wonder that with the cogent reasonings and well attested facts with which those writings abound, there should sometimes be blended an asperity and vehemence, that detract from their general merits. On this account many parents among Protestant Dissenters, have felt some reluctance to initiate their children into the controversy relating to Dissent, lest either the forbidding spirit in which it has sometimes been maintained, should make them revolt from the principles themselves, or, which is perhaps still more to be apprehended, they should imbibe the same spirit, and become intemperate partisans of a good cause.

But now that the fever of human passions and prejudices has abated, and good men on each side have learned to esteem and love one another, it may reasonably be hoped, that angry discussions will give place to unbiassed investigation, and that there will be felt on both sides, a disposition to ascertain what is the truth, and having ascertained, to admit it.

We are not disposed to raise the cry, 'The cause of Dissent is in danger,' for several reasons. First, because we do not believe the fact; and secondly, because we feel a persuasion that the truth, wherever it may be found, will ultimately prevail, and to this great object we are content that all party views and interests should be sacrificed; yet we have no doubts that the actual state of things, especially in the metropolis, justifies the following representation of the Author of the "Pastoral Letters."

'The Author is apprehensive, that both ministers and parents, in their attention to the weightier matters of revealed religion, are chargeable with some degree of culpable neglect, in respect of such topics as relate to the order and discipline of the Church, in the instructions which they have given to young people, whether in their own families or in wider circles. The consequence has been,



not that any considerable number of Dissenters has, on inquiry and conviction, become attached to the National Establishment, but that several individuals have—from an opinion hastily assumed, that the subject, is left at large in the New Testament, and that no importance is attached to it—allowed themselves to desert the profession of religion to which they had been habituated from their childhood, and to join the Establishment, from a variety of secondary considerations. Worldly profit and reputation, which are generally on the side of a form of religion patronized by the State, have had their influence on some; the example of friends and relatives has been the motive with others; and a preference for the preaching of some good minister in the church, has been with a third class the determining point—while the question of scriptural precedents, and the authority of the New Testament, has been scarcely adverted to.' p. ix, x.

There is, we apprehend, another yet more fruitful cause of this indifference, for in very few cases does it amount to an actual dereliction of Dissenting principles. It is well known that there are not a few places of worship, which are, properly speaking, Dissenting Meeting-houses, and licensed as such, yet which in ritual and mode of worship, approximate very near to those by law established. A part at least of the liturgy is read; canonicals are worn by the officiating minister or reader; the walls and windows are decorated; and all external appearances seem intended to convey the opinion that the difference is very trifling, if any, between them and episcopal chapels. Members of Dissenting churches, from motives of convenience or some other cause, not unfrequently attend, with their families, at these chapels. Pastors of Dissenting churches frequently occupy their pulpits, and even their desks, and the consequence is, as might be expected, that the younger branches of such families do not think it worth while, on so slight a ground of difference, to subject themselves to the reproach of being esteemed Methodists or Dissenters, and take refuge within the pale of the Establishment.

It is not to be expected, that in a series of familiar letters not exceeding eleven in number, the whole case should be made out, and the whole field of controversy traversed. Some of the principal points are however stated and argued by the anonymous Author of these Letters, with candour, perspicuity, and talent. In the First, the design of the work is announced, *vis.* to excite young persons, who may not yet have considered the subject, 'to inquire what can be said in favour of the forms to which they have been accustomed, and what pleas can be instituted by those who deviate from them; and not to decide, till they have compared both with the Scriptures, and thus enable themselves to judge which is most consonant with the inspired testimony.'

'While I rejoice,' says this writer, 'that Churchmen and Dissenters are seen walking together in all those paths where they

think alike. I should be grieved to see that either you, or any other of my beloved young friends, desert, without full inquiry, a mode of professing the Gospel, which I am increasingly persuaded is founded on the plan of the primitive churches; and is more adapted, than any establishment whatever, to promote the great interests of the kingdom of Christ. A Churchman, enlightened in the knowledge of his own principles, will always be most liberal towards those who differ from him; and a Dissenter well acquainted with the true basis of his religious profession, will always be disposed to regard with cordial affection those who cannot think precisely with himself.' p. 14.

In the Second Letter, the importance of the question is proved, and it is fully shewn

— 'that it is the duty of every Christian to endeavour to arrive at a settled judgment as to the laws of Christ, in reference to the form and order and discipline of his Church. It is not, indeed of such magnitude as to prevent me from giving the right hand of fellowship to one who conscientiously differs from me, or to hinder my union with him in all points in which we are agreed; but certainly it becomes me to inquire on which side the strength of evidence lies in those matters in which we differ.' p. 15, 16.

In the Third and Fourth Letters, the question of the constitution and government of a Christian Church, is discussed, both in opposition to those who contend that no scriptural model is furnished, by which our Churches are to be embodied; and those who conceive that the established hierarchy of this country best accords with that authoritative standard. Testimonies are collected from the pages of inspiration, to prove that the primitive Churches were congregational, and under the superintendence of their elected pastors. One of these Letters concludes with the following candid appeal to common sense.

'This is, I know, a very imperfect sketch of a subject, of which the discussion has filled volumes. But I mean simply to invite you to the unbiassed perusal of such parts of the New Testament as touch on the matter. Read the Acts with a pen and paper before you: mark down all the places, in which the forms and modes of professing the Gospel are noticed; review these passages; compare them fairly, accurately, and impartially; and let me know, as the result, whether you really think, that these descriptions are most applicable to such societies as subsist among the Protestant Dissenters in this country, or to the Church by law established.' p. 32, 33.

The Fifth Letter contains an impressive representation of the nature and design of the Institution of the Lord's Supper, and a comparative view is taken of the mode of administering this holy rite within, and without the pale of the Establishment. And here we are somewhat surprised, that the Author has not even glanced at the profanation, for we cannot employ a milder term, of this ordinance, which is sanctioned by law, and daily practised; and in which it is constituted a qualification to secular offices.



From this subject, the transition is natural, in the Sixth Letter, to the ordinance of Baptism, and after all the arguments that have recently been adduced to prove the contrary, the Author still affirms that the Church of England maintains, in her Articles, her Catechism, and her Formularies, the doctrine of *Baptismal Regeneration*.

‘ If regeneration be that high and exalted blessing which it is represented to be in the New Testament; then, according to the Church, baptism is the means of effecting that which, according to the New Testament, is attributed to the operations of the Divine Spirit. Or, if the ordinance of baptism be considered simply as the token of a Christian profession, then the meaning of regeneration must be greatly sunk from the high importance annexed to it in the lively oracles. In either case, the service is exceedingly inconsistent, and to a thinking mind, one should suppose, must be very unsatisfactory’ p. 65, 6.

In the Seventh Letter, some objections are made to parts of the Liturgy, while its general excellence is admitted; and the advantages of *free*, or as it is usually called, extemporary prayer, are asserted. In the Eighth and Ninth Letters, the question of *edification* is discussed; and several reasons are assigned, why pre-arranged services, and services which do not admit of an adaptation to circumstances, are not likely to produce so lively an interest, or to awake so much of the spirit of devotion, as when, under the conduct of a well informed and spiritual ministry, those services are brought to bear upon existing circumstances and events. In the last two letters, a most valuable practical use is made of the preceding discussion, by shewing, that a revived attention to these subjects, so far from tending to disunite, would induce a more cordial co-operation, by making the body of Dissenters firm, yet liberal, well informed, and highly devotional. We shall conclude this article with introducing a short extract on the last of these topics.

‘ When Dissenters become worldly men, and the Nonconformist Society degenerates into a worldly sanctuary, it cannot be surprising that our congregations decline in numbers, and eventually lose their firmness, their candour, their zeal, their every commendable trait. Where the spirit of the world pervades one of our churches, it is followed either by a party bigotry, which will allow of nothing good or worthy out of its own inclosure; or by an undistinguishing and fallacious liberality which considers every thing to be indifferent. In either case, the usual result is, that if the parents maintain the shew of Nonconformity, their children become members of the Establishment, not from conviction or inquiry, but because, having been taught that the difference is small and inconsiderable, they easily conclude it most desirable to associate with the majority. The conformity in these cases is usually of the most unedifying description. It is a conformity to the world rather than to the church, or to that side of the church which is most assimilated to the world.’ p. 121, 2.

Art. VIII: *A Tour through some Parts of Istria, Carniold, Styria, Austria, the Tyrol, Italy and Sicily, in the Spring of 1814.* Small 8vo. Gale and Fenner. London, 1815.

IT is much to be wished, that travellers would preserve some proportion between the size and expense of their volumes, and the value of their communications. The inordinate desire of appearing in the dress and with the decorations of a *quarto*, has often, we suspect, tempted a writer to extend to an insipid and wearisome length, materials which, in a simple and compressed form, might have commended themselves to general attention; and a similar taste for typographical bulk and magnificence, has seduced many a writer to stretch and colour his periods, till their native and more graceful plainness had entirely disappeared, in order that his style might be more in harmony with the finery of its garb. Besides, it is always mortifying, and sometimes inconvenient to the purchaser, to be compelled to pay an extravagant premium for mere paper and press-work, while the substance of the book might be more advantageously read in a moderate octavo; and the just vexation of spirit thus awakened, may not unfrequently give a splenetic cast to his estimate of the work itself. These remarks have been suggested to us—*mons a non movendo*—by the plain and unpretending form in which the volume before us, presents itself to the reader.

The Author, aware that he had but little to say, has had the sound judgement not to awaken expectations which he had not the means of gratifying. There is, in truth, a very slender portion of information to be found in this "Tour," even considered as a mere itinerary; nor is there much of that interest, which, in the absence of instruction, is sometimes to be found in vivid description and spirited narration. The Tourist now and then endeavours at reasoning and speculation; and occasionally intimates his familiar acquaintance with the classics. Of his success in the first of these, we cannot afford room for an example; but of the latter we find an eminent illustration in the motto to his journal: *Virumque cano*—words which no doubt have an application, though we have not been able to discover it; what *man* this "merchant" *sings*, or whether he sings at all, we must leave it to himself to ascertain. At the same time, the book is not altogether without merit.

Though the traveller moved rapidly, and both saw and reflected superficially, he neither falsifies nor exaggerates; he describes what he has actually heard and seen, precisely as the various objects presented themselves before him. The period, too, at which he travelled, was a very interesting one.

It was only a few weeks subsequent to the re-opening of the



continent of Europe, after a non-intercourse, both politically and commercially considered, without a parallel; so that several circumstances are described which have never been disclosed before, but which the author flatters himself, will not be uninteresting to the public.

Connected with this peculiar character of the season, were a number of little circumstances which occurred during the route, and exhibited both the inhabitants and the scenery in no ordinary point of view. When the "merchant" reached Venice, of which he gives a somewhat better account than is usual with him, and visited the celebrated place of St. Mark,

'an interesting ceremony was going forward. The inhabitants had made a vow, during the blockade, that if they were released from their sufferings in a given period, they would celebrate their deliverance by a public procession for ten days. This vow was made at a moment when many were perishing with famine, as no provisions could be got into the city, and the Austrians were besieging it very closely. After the procession had gone several times round the square, it entered the church of St. Mark; where, divesting yourself of any prejudice you might have with regard to the mummary then going on, you could not but feel with the public for the occasion which had brought them together. The slow music of the organ; the thousand lighted wax tapers reflecting upon the gilded vaults; the dresses of the women, whose faces were covered with white veils; the liveries of the different religious communities; the solemn chaunt of the priests,—formed altogether a most impressive scene. As I left the church, hundreds of miserable creatures, who had spent all the little property they had during the siege, flocked round me. Women with five or six children lay on the ground imploring charity; whilst some, who had seen better days, told me a pitiful tale, with their faces concealed in a veil. Their black dress proclaimed them to be of noble birth. I heard afterwards, that many men, who before the French Revolution had been affluent, were now serving as *valets-de-chambre*, or in situations equally mean: indeed my *cicerone* was one of those unfortunate beings, and unhappiness seemed depicted upon his countenance.' pp. 122—124.

At Florence, our Tourist met with a poet who laid him under contribution.

'Just as I had taken coffee after dinner to-day, somebody rapped at the door. "Enter," said I. A meagre ill-dressed person walked in, with a letter in his hand.—"That cannot be for me," said I. "Yes, it is," answered he: "look at the address." It was certainly directed to

"Monsieur

Monsieur ——— (Anglois)

Schneidorff, Florence."

I opened it hastily, wondering who could have found me out, particularly as I had seen no one whom I knew. My curiosity was soon

satisfied: the cover contained a gilt back book, and in the first leaf was penned the following flattering address:—

“Happy omens of  
Felicitation  
to the most distinct and  
illustrious Myster—  
—English.

“On his happy arrival at Florence, the academician and poet Angelo Sciantarelli, in testimony of his dutiful respect, presents to your lordship, with the most sincere desire, his following poetical compositions, with hopes that your lordship will not disdain to place them under your powerful protection, and flatters himself that with the usual generosity of your lordship will not fail to be rewarded.” So much for compliment from the poet. A couple of pages further were these two sonettos:— pp. 164—166.

““Pray,” said I (for he stood before me till I had gone through the dedication and the sonettos), “are you the poet?” “I am,” answered he, “to my great sorrow. I consider it unfortunate that God made me in a country, where merit is so neglected as it is here. I would wish to live honestly by my profession, but I cannot find a patron.” The man never spoke truer words than the last in his life; for the above two sonettos are full of the greatest absurdities: they are neither sense nor grammar. His look was, however, so truly pitiful, that, putting my hand into one of my pockets, I rejoined, “That I was truly sorry he had mistaken my quality; that every Englishman was not a lord; that I feared my protection would be of little use to him, but here is the best protection you can have” (slipping a dollar into his hand). He smiled, bowed, and scraped, till he got to the door; and slunk out without ever turning his back. The waiter of the inn afterwards told me, that this man had similar sonettos for every body that went that way, no matter from what country.” pp. 168, 169.

The Author describes himself as a ‘young’ man, and indeed, there are no defects in his volume, but such as may be removed by maturer thought and experience. We have derived some gratification from his performance, and which we take more pleasure in acknowledging, than in pointing out the defects of his composition.

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Art. IX. *Exposition of One Principal Cause of the National Distress, particularly in Manufacturing Districts: With some Suggestions for its Removal.* Price 1s. 6d. Darton and Co. London. 1817.

**W**E took up this pamphlet, which we understand to be the production of one of the Society of Friends, with expectations which have not, in some respects, been realized, though in others, they have been sufficiently gratified. On the subject of the national distress, the writer has thrown no light whatever;



the causes lie deeper than *she* has allowed her researches to fathom; and even within the range to which she has restricted herself, she has made very unwarrantable assumptions, and hazarded dangerous and injurious speculations. And yet, with all these deductions from the soundness and usefulness of her pamphlet, we have found in it a spirit of feeling and benevolence, an ardour and intensity of sympathy with human suffering, a purity of motive, and occasionally an energy and eloquence of sentiment and composition, which have given us a very favourable impression of the Author's talents and dispositions. Her error seems to be, that she has permitted her feelings to overweigh her judgement so completely, as to suffer her to take a view of one part of the question only; and accordingly, she dwells upon the miseries of the artisan, wholly regardless of the fact, which she admits, that they are shared, though probably in a somewhat lower average degree, by his employer. Under the bias of this unequal feeling, she proposes a remedy, which if it were not very fortunately quite impracticable, would do nothing less than involve master and servant, merchant and manufacturer in one common ruin. Without the slightest regard to the state of the market, to the want of capital, or of demand, she proposes 'an *immediate* advance in the price of labour,' and urges that it be 'such an advance as shall secure to the diligent workman *his guinea per week*, without intrenching on the hours of rest' and needful refreshment.'

We are persuaded that the writer's own calmer judgement has before this, detected the wildness of these dashing propositions, and that she is not likely to be lastingly misled by such shallow calculations. There are many portions of this Exposition in a purer taste. The remarks on the spirit of trade, are excellent; though too general, they are expressed in language of considerable point and force. There is something very striking in her representation of the Spirit of trade feeling the pulse of the half-paid and overlaboured artificer, and pronouncing 'that the system of exhaustion may proceed still further.' Had she confined herself to a few points like these, while she administered mild instruction and temperate reproof, the Author might have wrought conviction where she will now find it difficult to procure a patient hearing.

Art. X. *Memoirs and Remains of the late Rev. Charles Buck*: containing copious Extracts from his Diary: and interesting Letters to his friends; interspersed with various observations explanatory and illustrative of his character and works. By John Styles, DD. 12mo. pp. 442. Price 5s. Hamilton. 1817.

**T**HERE is no class of works which it affords us more real pleasure to notice, than the memoirs of truly pious and faithful Christian ministers. They may not always exhibit the highest literary attractions, or excite that tumultuous interest which we sometimes participate in tracing the splendid and eventful career of greatness; the pleasure which they are calculated to afford, is derived from a very different source; it arises from the contemplation of moral excellence and of the genuine influence of Christianity. The very office and the daily duties of the minister of the Gospel, call for the constant manifestation of those principles which constitute the Christian character, and bring the individual more immediately into that line of occupation which employed the Son of God upon earth.

The name of the Rev. Charles Buck is one which can excite no literary animosities, no party feelings. It deserves to be always pronounced with unmingled respect. To those of our readers who know how to appreciate the labours of a pious, zealous, and faithful minister, who feel satisfaction in tracing the humble but interesting progress through life, of a disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, and in witnessing the display, in the last trying hour, of that undisturbed tranquillity, that sober and rational confidence, which can be felt only by the sincere believer, we cordially recommend this little volume. It is a fair and unadorned portraiture of a laborious servant of Jesus Christ, who, though not endowed with the highest order of talents, possessed a good plain understanding, a very accurate acquaintance with experimental Christianity, and eminent qualifications for usefulness. Few religious publications, in the present day, have acquired a more extensive and at the same time, more deserved popularity, than Mr. Buck's "*Treatise on Religious Experience*," and his "*Young Christian's Guide*." It is not, however upon his merits as an author, that his claims to affectionate remembrance principally rest; but rather upon the general qualities of his character, which render these 'recollections' and remains, a record highly instructive and permanently interesting.

As a specimen of the contents of the volume, we extract the following Contemplation, as one among many equally sensible and equally pious.

‘ *God's Providence.*

‘ Lord, I adore thy vast designs, and wonder at thy all-wise providence: thou art not accountable to creatures, and none can say



unto thee, "What doest thou?" "Thy way is in the sea, thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known." Shall I then murmur, when I consider that thou art too wise to err, *and too good to do wrong?* Heaven forbid. Though I cannot tell what thou art doing, and am ignorant of thy Divine projects, yet let me ever be submissive to thy gracious will. Though I cannot comprehend thy works, nor understand thy ways, yet let me be resigned, yea, perfectly resigned at all times, and in all places, to thy wise disposal. But, ah, wretched man that I am, how frequently do I mistake thee, when thou art full of love and pity, and art only afflicting me, that I might be more refined from my earthly dross; then, to my shame, do I think, that in wrath thou art going to leave me, or, at least, I am not one of thy beloved children. O blessed Jesus, give me the eye of faith, to see that thou wilt do all things well, and may I, when bereaved of friends, or deprived of comforts, be enabled with patience and gratitude to take up the words of thy servant of old, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, *but still* blessed be the name of the Lord." If thy providences are adverse may I not despair, and if they are prosperous or pleasant may I not be careless or ungrateful. Into thy hands, O glorious Immanuel, I surrender myself; O let me never be satisfied with any thing short of thee, and may I, under every dispensation, say, "The will of the Lord be done." p. 70.

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Art. XI. *Odin, a Poem*; in Eight Books, and Two Parts. By the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond; Author of a Translation of Persius, Academical Questions, &c. *Part the First*. 4to. pp. 165. Price 18s. Law and Co. London. 1817.

**SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND'S** high attainments as a scholar, are well known, and his classic taste imparts a raciness to his verse, which will not be lost upon those of his readers, who love to recall, with a remembrance of the studies of their youth, all the fair visions of beauty, fame, and independence, with which, in that glowing period of life, they are inseparably connected.

The subject of this poem is the foundation of the Gothic Empire, by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, whom the Author assumes to be the same personage that, after the final defeat of Mithridates, by the Romans, conducted a chosen band of his followers, in conjunction with a Scythian tribe, from the borders of the Euxine into the North, conquered Sweden and Denmark, and boldly assumed the name and character of Odin, the principal deity of the barbarians whom he had subdued.

Sir W.'s remarks, in support of this hypothesis, are sufficiently plausible to rescue the story from improbability, and to give at any rate propriety to the fiction. Had it, indeed, been otherwise, he might safely defy the incredulous to prove the negative; since, as he facetiously argues, if his hero cannot be proved to be the son of the king of Pontus, he knows not how it can be

proved that he was not so. But we have too much of a certain kind of veneration for our Gothic ancestors, to be inclined to contest this point. There is something too gratifying in finding the conquerors of the Roman Empire, among the descendants of those who so long contended with her the dominion of the world, and whom scarcely the utmost efforts of her colossal strength could overcome, for us to raise up any very serious objections against the Author's supposition. There is something peculiarly heroical and grand, something which cannot be contemplated without enthusiasm, in the impatience of slavery which is bequeathed as an inheritance from generation to generation, until the occurrence of some favourable moment for throwing off its chains. Liberty, driven from all outward establishments, exiled from the very face of the earth, still finds a last refuge in the bosoms of the brave, there she is cherished with secret and fond devotion and fidelity, and there she acquires new strength, and meditates resumption of her rights. Sir William Drummond has well expressed this feeling in the following lines which he puts into the mouth of Megares, one of his warriors.

\* The brave, the free will scorn his abject soul  
Who feels no pangs for all his country's wrongs,  
And laughs to see its glories pass away.  
Pause, then, ye Satraps, in this fatal hour!  
Think ye to find your country in the soil?  
No, seek it in your souls. Nor e'er forget  
That great bequest your fathers left their sons—  
The proud inheritance of virtuous fame.  
Pontus is ours no more. Then hail ye wilds  
Of Scandinavia! Cold Suevonia hail!  
Though rude your winters be, and rough the blasts  
That sweep your naked vales; yet liberty  
Shall nurse in peace her hardy children here—  
Where freedom is, the free their country find.' p. 67.

The volume before us contains only the first part of Sir William Drummond's work, which he submits to the public for their decision upon its merits; the completion of the whole being made to depend upon the reception given to this specimen of it. This proof of his respect to his readers, justly claims respectful treatment in return; his merits should be liberally acknowledged, and his defects pointed out with a delicate candour.

Sir William seems distrustful of meeting with approbation, on two grounds. The first is, that his story is dependent on a mythology now almost forgotten, even in the North, where it was originally fostered. The second anticipated objection is, that he has treated of it in blank verse. The circumstance that the northern mythology is nearly forgotten, even in the country



which gave it birth, is, we imagine, so far from rendering any allusion to it uninteresting, that it is one reason that the poet should attempt to win it back by his lyre from utter oblivion. A melancholy feeling is excited by the thought, that the very remembrance of notions which have been implicitly entertained by millions, and which held a sovereign influence over their characters, should be wholly obliterated, so as to leave only a desert for the imagination to traverse in exploring the regions of the past. It is a species of annihilation in immaterial nature, from which a reflective mind recoils with a feeling similar to what seizes upon an astronomer, when he misses one of the sparkling orbs whose course he has been accustomed to measure, and which he has peopled with imaginary inhabitants. We have lost too many of these links in the chain of human opinions. Whole systems have disappeared, leaving behind them only traces of the space they once occupied, sufficient to perplex the endless inquiries of the antiquarian and the scholar.

A superstition which was once the only religion of the whole northern world, the votaries of which swept like Alpine torrents over the beautiful vales of Italy and Greece, ultimately enriching where at first they threatened only to destroy, can never be altogether without interest to persons of contemplative minds. All things are interesting in their origin. Odin, considered merely as the principal deity of the Teutonic nations, is certainly very deficient in poetical dignity and interest, compared to the Jupiter Tonans of the Greeks; and viewed in this light, we are disposed to care very little about him; but when we come somewhat nearer the truth, and see in this same Odin, a warlike man who had bravery enough to conquer a brave people, and sufficient genius and energy of mind to avail himself of their reigning superstitions, so far as to make them believe that he was a fit object for their worship, our sympathy with the human being leads us to treat with some respect, the mythological deity. Sir William Drummond is very happy in his combination of fiction with reality: he is sufficiently general for all the purposes of poetry, and yet he adheres closely enough to individuality, to connect his *dramatis personæ* not only with our own species, but with such modifications of our nature as are familiar to our experience.

The opening of this poem reminds us, in the lofty tone of its hero's complaints, and in its richness of description, of the general style of the Greek tragedy. Pharnaces, in a soliloquy, laments over his fallen fortunes, and breathes forth his thirst of vengeance. He is interrupted by the Genius of Gotha, who is a minister of Loke, 'the principle of evil,' and who offers him the kingdom of the Goths, and the name and state of Odin, their

god, on condition of his exploring the depths of Hell, under the guidance of the Vola, the Sibyl of the northern mythology. After a short struggle within himself, Pharnaces yields to the dictates of ambition and revenge, and promises to accomplish whatever may be required of him. The Genius then disappears, and Pharnaces being left alone, falls into a train of inquiries respecting the nature of communications from another world, and the predictions that are afloat relative to the coming of a universal conqueror. These reflections are well conceived, and classically expressed; the application, however, which Pharnaces makes to himself of the prophecies connected with the appearance of the Messiah, will be found too revolting to gain the approbation of our readers. It may, perhaps, not be improbable, that an ambitious pagan prince, knowing the existence of these prophecies, might, in the situation in which Pharnaces is represented as being placed, apply them to himself; but the impression is made at once, while the reflection that might tend to reconcile us to it, is an after thought, and comes too late. Under the complacency with which this view of his subject inspires him, Pharnaces closes his soliloquy, and the Author his first book.

The second opens with the address of Pharnaces to his chiefs, the greater part of whom are much inclined to rebel against him, and return to Pontus. He reproaches them with the treachery and cowardice of their meditated flight; promises them dominion over all the North, in case of their remaining faithful to him; and informs them, by way of inducement to do so, that he is protected by gods of whom they are ignorant. This speech is received with anger and contempt by Arsaces, one of the rebel satraps.

‘ Haughty he was, and turbulent ; of rule  
Impatient ; loving change ; not for the end  
Solicitous ; nor caring what the means.’

He ridicules Pharnaces, as a

‘ moon-stricken man, whose phrensied eye  
Sees kingdoms in the clouds ;’—

draws a picture sufficiently comfortless to his followers, of their actual situation, and advises them to return to their own country, and throw themselves upon the clemency of Cæsar. He is rebuked by the aged Megares, from whose speech we have already given an extract. After him Meran speaks :

‘ Well school’d in art was he—a sophist skill’d  
To speak in flowery phrase, and charm each ear  
With words high sounding, elocution soft,  
And periods flowing smoothly to their close.’



He begins his speech with ridicule,

‘ The lightest weapon in wit’s armoury,  
Yet deadly too, when malice wings the shaft.’

but soon leaving that sportive mode of attack, he proceeds to bitter invective, and excites the rebel troops to open revolt. They are silenced by Pharnaces, who challenges all or any of them to accompany him to the abode of the god whose protection of him they affect to dispute. An address to superstition is then introduced by the poet, and the book closes with the descent of Pharnaces to the amazement and dismay of his people, into the cavern of the Vola, unappalled by the flames which burst from its mouth, and the ominous appearance of every thing around.

Sir William Drummond commences his third book with a metaphysical inquiry into the immortality of the soul. In arguments on such a subject, it would perhaps be unreasonable to expect any thing new, when we consider how long and how variously it has been discussed; but he might, as he speaks in his own person, and therefore we presume with sentiments somewhat different from those which we should expect to hear from his pagan hero, have brought forward in addition to the rest, one which would have more weight with a Christian mind than all the others put together, and be found at least as susceptible of poetical illustration. He who can bring Divine authority in support of his assertions, needs not confine his reasoning to analogy.

The Vola or Sybil is very poetically described. Pharnaces finds her lying, pale and motionless, entranced upon a rock, sculptured over with mystic symbols. Instruments of magic are by her side. One hand supports her head; the other grasps a bough,

‘ Pluck’d from the Mountain Ash of Ydrasil.’

Upon her bosom lies

‘ The fatal leaf of baleful misletoe,  
That Hoder, blind and old, in Asgard threw  
When well-loved Balder died.’

This leaf, so venerated by the Celts, was held in religious horror by the Goths, who believed that the touch of it caused death, or a torpor nearly resembling it. Pharnaces, however, seizes it in his iron glove, and the Vola begins to breathe. She turns abhorrent from the light.

‘ Garish day

Delights me not, nor æther’s azure glare.  
She said; and from her couch majestic rose;  
In form a Goddess. Who shall paint a face  
That more than human seem’d, and spoke the soul  
Above all sympathy with mortal man —

A cheek so pale, a brow so sternly calm —  
Eyes that ne'er wept, and lips that could not smile?' p. 89.

After certain incantations, she undertakes to guide the monarch on his gloomy route.

'A golden bridge, with nine vast arches, spann'd  
The yellow wave—a flood of molten gold.'

They cross it. On the other side sits Modguder, the Bellona of the Goths. At the sight of Pharnaces,

'She brandishes the sword she hates to sheathe ;'

but the Vola shrowds him in darkness, and they proceed to pass the bourn

'That separates the living from the dead.'

This shadowy world, in all ages so anxiously guessed at, is exhibited with considerable force, under the dark colouring of the northern mythology, throughout the fictions of which may be traced a connexion with the traditions of other nations. Those who are at all acquainted with the Gothic mythology, will recollect the account given in the Edda, of the conflict between Thor, the Jupiter of the north, and Mignard, the great serpent which the Scandinavians believed to lie at the bottom of the sea. In this fable, the classical scholar will recognise a coincidence with that of Apollo and the Python ; the orientalist will be reminded of that of Vishnoo and his serpent ; whilst the believer in Revelation will perceive in it, a more awful and important reference. It is thus alluded to by our Author.

'Now on the verge they stood of a broad sea  
Tempestuous. In the midst the snake-like God  
Of slimy Mignard, (his lithe body coil'd  
In many a spiral fold voluminous,)  
Uplifted o'er the wave his crested head  
Majestic. Serpent old ! believed of yore,  
Where Nile and Ganges flow, to circulate  
The ocean-stream that girts the universe ;  
By Ophite priests adored with Heathen rites  
In Judah ; ere the son of Achaz broke  
The brazen idol, by the House of God  
Set up for worship. Not the clime is known  
On this terraqueous globe, nor land, nor sea,  
Where Man may not discern, however changed  
By Fiction's magic touch, some rueful trace,  
Some record dire, of that grand damage wrought  
In Eden, in the bowers of Paradise,  
To our first parents, by the deadly snake,  
Primæval foe of Adam and his race.' p. 104.

The scene now changes from the dreariness of winter to the region of fire, and the Author, whose imagination warms with the theme, describes in glowing colours the appearance and



equipage of the Fire-god, and the effect which the devouring element that owns him for its lord, is to have on the fainting Earth, in the grand day of her dissolution. The adventurous king then proceeds onward to Hela's Hall; the shadowy people who throng its vestibules and courts, are described with much of the spirit and manner of Claudian in the most beautiful of all his performances, the Rape of Proserpine.

They next come to the abode of the king of shades himself,

'The parent of all ill, disastrous Loke:'

In describing the nations which have either deprecated the malignancy, or invoked the aid of an evil spirit, the Author draws a concise and animated picture of the various shapes under which guilt and superstition have at different periods enslaved the mind of man.

The Vola now solemnly calls upon Pharnaces to make his election between good and evil, finely and impressively remarking, that,

'——Hell itself may not deceive  
The soul that wills it not.'

She gives him an account of the origin of all things; of the felicity of primeval creation, and the change induced by the introduction of evil. This part of the work is extremely fine; every line rises in solemnity and interest, and the struggles of Pharnaces, as his ambition and revenge oppose themselves to his sense of moral good, and his conviction of the fragility of worldly greatness. At length his final decision is made, and he kneels,

'before the throne  
Of evil Loke; the banner he receives;  
But may not see that Hela's horrid hand  
Conveys the fatal gift. The deed is done.  
All, all is silent in the house of Death;  
It seems that universal nature sleeps.  
Dread silence this, the silence of the tomb!  
Now stands the Vola like to one entranced;  
Her marble arms are cross'd upon her breast;  
Her cheeks are pale; her glassy eyes are fix'd;  
And thus she utters what her God inspires.' p. 121.

A fine burst of prophetic poetry follows. The victorious progress of the Goths, the spoiling of Italy, the ruin of Rome, the destructions of later years, the darkening of European glory, are foretold, with a rapidity of expression and richness of imagery rarely equalled in modern verse.

'Thus spake the prophetess with troubled voice,  
And the third time the bird of Hela crew.  
The monarch stood alone, and none remain'd

Of all the visions seen. Yet in his hand  
 He grasp'd the banner, fatal gift of hell.  
 He raised his eyes ; before him roll'd the stream  
 Of Gotha ; and, by dawning light of morn,  
 He saw the well known tents that crown'd the hills  
 Around him. To the camp he took his way.' p. 125.

The fourth book opens with an address to the first hour of morning ; after invoking which, our Author, entering again upon the business of this nether world, introduces us to Dan, the valiant chief of Funen, who is roused from the repose in which he is indulging, ready-armed, by a terrified scout, who informs him that he has seen the leader of the warlike strangers guiding his troops,

‘ ——— by light of many a flaming torch,’

towards the cave of the Vola, whence he infers that they must be sons of Loke, and that all the infernal powers will range themselves on their side in the field of battle. ‘ Dauntless Dan,’ in no wise appalled at this intelligence, blows his horn, rouses his allies, and sallies forth at their head. An episode of a softer nature is now brought forward. Shiold, the son of Dan, is roused from his bridal bed, by the blast of the trumpet, and a dialogue ensues between him and his Nora, which we do not regard as the happiest part of the performance. It is forced, and by no means accords with the condition of the speakers. A warrior, even of modern days, hastily putting on his accoutrements, and arming himself for the fight, however tenderly he might take leave of his wife individually, would scarcely wait to compliment her sex in general, in the following affected style :—

“ Farewell a while,” the youthful warrior said,  
 “ Farewell, my lovely bride ! the toils of war  
 Befit our rougher sex ; but thine was form'd,  
 O happy after thought of love divine,  
 To charm, to soften, and to polish man.” p. 139.

These fine speeches are, however, suddenly put a stop to, by the sight of a gorgeous gauntlet, glittering in the grass, which Nora acknowledges to have been dropped by a young stranger, who had once intruded on her solitude, during her husband's absence. Jealousy seizes on the soul of Shiold. He sends his wife back to her father, and rushes forth to the fight, in the hope of finding his rival, who proves to be Narses, the son of Pharnaces. He overpowers him in single combat, and a fine description of the field of battle ensues ; in which the gloomy and terrific images of the northern mythology appear with peculiar effect. Just when the mind is impressed with all the horrors of the scene,—with Modguder,



‘ —on her war-horse mounted black as night,  
And beating loudly her enchanted drum,’

with Hela,

‘ shrouded queen of ghosts,  
Mysterious awful phantom, silent shade,  
Invisible to all but dying eyes,’

and Loke, the demon-king,—suddenly a shout is heard, and Pharnaces appears in ‘ magnific panoply,’ under the name, and vested with the outward attributes of Odin, by whom the Scandinavians believed themselves to be deserted, after the triumph of Marius in the Cimbric war. His re-appearance among them is therefore hailed with frantic joy. He tells them that he is come to join them in one band of fraternity, to give them the same laws, and exalt their power above the clouds of heaven.

‘ Ruled by one prince, united by one name,  
By Gotha’s waters, Odin hails you Goths.’

His speech is received with loud acclamations, and the poem, or rather the first part of it, concludes with a song from the Scalds, which is extremely spirited, abounding in imagery, glowing and animated as that of the Orientals, yet strictly in character with the simplicity and vigour of the North. The Runic harps seem to vibrate on our ear as we close the volume with feelings similar to those which are experienced, when, after an active scene, a numerous assemblage begins to disperse, and all gradually subsides into quietness and rest.

Such is the first part of Sir William Drummond’s poem, which would be complete as a whole, were it not for the uncertainty in which we are left with regard to the fate of Nora. That the public, after this specimen of the Author’s poetical talents, should not be desirous of seeing the remainder of his work, can scarcely be questioned. On the expectation of seeing it forthcoming ere very long, we shall proceed to point out such blemishes as have struck us in our examination of his performance.

We have already stated, that the Author anticipates his failure of success with the public, on account of his having chosen blank verse as the vehicle of his sentiments. It would, however, be paying the public taste a bad compliment, to imagine that it can prefer the jingling and Hudibrastic rhymes in which our poetical romances, or romantic poems, have been lately written, to that stately and varied march of rhythm, in which our language peculiarly finds itself at ease, and which has been chosen by all our finest poets, as the fittest mode of expressing their feelings. Equally adapted to the simple and the majestic, from the ease with which it admits of every variety of cadence, and its susceptibility of the highest degree of ornament, blank verse possesses advantages over every other species of poetry, when

epic, narrative, dramatic, or didactic subjects, are to be treated of. Short and irregular measures are utterly incompatible with them; quatrains confine alike the sense and the sentence to the compass of the verse; and the regular rhyming couplet of ten feet, brought to exquisite perfection by Dryden and Pope, is still liable to restraints and to a monotony, which unfit it for the expression of violent passion, as is strikingly exemplified in our heroic tragedies, where the hero in vain endeavours to bluster, with big words in his mouth, when he is obliged to drop his voice at the end of every rhyme. To object to the use of blank verse in itself, is traitorous to the merits of our own language. Sir William Drummond's blank verse is unexceptionable. It is smooth, yet vigorous and varied. Faulty lines occasionally occur; but such as are faulty in point of taste, as well as rhythm, very seldom. We must advert, however, to one in the soliloquy of Pharnaces.

‘My native land is made a den of thieves.’ p. 36, l. 4.

This is both inelegant, and exceptionable on account of its resemblance to Scripture phraseology, of which, in subsequent passages, Sir William has sometimes judiciously availed himself. Our Author has been before hand with the critics, in acknowledging that he has used certain words as dissyllables, which are now generally measured as one only; and others in their original signification, rather than in that which they have gained from the corruption of time, or innovations made upon the construction of our mother tongue. In using the word *heaven* as a monosyllable, or as a dissyllable, we conceive that the poet ought to be guided by the degree of importance annexed to the word in the sense in which it is used. This distinction cannot be better illustrated than in the examples from Shakspeare, which Sir William brings forward in support of his use of it as a dissyllable.

———— ‘Like the herald Mercury,  
New lighted on a *heaven-hissing* hill.’

———— ‘it is a knell,  
That summons thee to *heaven* or to hell.’

The impressive pause in the last of these examples, upon the word *heaven*, sufficiently authorises the dwelling upon its separate syllables, which in the first has a weak effect, because the epithet is not of sufficient importance to sustain the attention. Similar instances may be quoted from our Author.

‘Who climb’d to heaven, as vain fables tell.’ p. 42. l. 18.

‘———— Her eagles soar  
Above the clouds of heaven, and what hand  
Shall strike them down.’ p. 40.



In regard to the restoration of words to their original signification, where nothing is gained by so doing, it is scarcely worth while to attempt it. Words, as well as living things, are liable to die a natural death of old age; but it seldom happens that they depart before they have provided themselves with successors, who fully represent their meaning. To interrupt the feelings of the reader, therefore, in an animated passage, by the unnecessary introduction of a word which obliges him to lay down the poem, and take up his glossary, is as injudicious as it would be in a public speaker to suspend the sympathy of his audience, in the midst of an eloquent appeal, by some impertinent nicety of pronunciation, which refers the mind to the etymological details of the dictionary. In the following restoration of a well-known word to its original sense, we cannot perceive that any thing is gained by the Author.

‘The Phoenix Orient, *sledge* with golden plumes.’ p. 52. l. 6.

When epithets are borrowed, it is not politic to exhibit them too often. ‘Grim visaged war,’ (p. 40. l. 4.) is too *Shaksperian* to escape notice the first time; but our Author is so well pleased with his spoil, that very soon after he represents winter as ‘grim visaged,’ also. (p. 63, l. 19.)

Sir William Drummond’s style is obviously formed upon the model of the *Paradise Lost*. We are better pleased, however, with the general resemblance to Milton, which his learning and classical taste enable him to keep up, in erudite allusion, and richness of ornament, than with his close imitation of particular passages. The following description of the Evil Deity will bear to be put in competition with the account of ‘the various idols ‘through the heathen world,’ in the first book of the *Paradise Lost*.

‘All times have known him, and all nations fear’d.  
To him, the dread of Afric’s ruthless sons,  
Midst mingled cries of mother and of child,  
Her first-born babes did Carthage immolate;  
And him, dread deity, the suppliant East,  
Idolatrous, adored, through half its realms,  
From Ganges to Euphrates, Siva call’d,  
Or Ahriman, nor worshipp’d without blood.  
The same was he, who under many a guise  
Deluded Syria. Now a monster foul,  
Half man, half fish, or brutish form hirsute,  
In Dagon’s temple or on Peor’s hill  
He shamed the Philistine and Moabite.  
Now regal Moloch, fell infanticide,  
He built his temple by the mount of God;  
And raised his brazen idol, tauriform,  
In Tophet’s gloomy valley, where by night  
Apostate Judah, to the sound of drums  
And trumpets, on his burning altar laid,

Her innocents. Yet the malefic fiend,  
 For evil ends, could smooth his ruffled brow,  
 When soft as woman, with seductive tongue,  
 He lured the sons of Belial to their woe.  
 Nor other was that king Adrammelech,  
 Monarchal image of the solar fire,  
 When high exalted on his sapphire throne  
 He dazzled nations with his radiant crown,  
 And star-like glories of his gorgeous robe.  
 The same was he, Thyone's florid son  
 Reputed, who led on the frantic throng  
 Of Bacchants, Thyades, and Menades,  
 When through the cities of astounded Greece,  
 Enflamed with wine, and with opprobrious lusts,  
 The votaries of Dionysus pass'd,  
 Shaking their thyrsi, calling on their God,  
 Shouting, and dancing to the clashing din  
 Of drums, and cymbals, round his magic van.' p. 113.

Milton is exquisitely happy in similies and allusions taken from particular scenes or objects in nature. Our readers remember his beautiful illustration of the size of the Leviathan.

' Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam;  
 The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff,  
 Deeming some island, oft, as sea-men tell,  
 With fixed anchor in his skaly rind  
 Moors by his side, under the lee, while night  
 Invests the sea, and wished morn delays.'

Paradise Lost. Book I.

Who can read this passage without deriving a gratification of the highest kind, from the complete picture which the mind involuntarily forms for itself, from this sketch, exquisite in its simplicity? Many of Sir William Drummond's similies are conceived in a similar spirit; but they are rather deficient in variety. The appearance of the Genius of Gotha is thus described.

' Thus spake Pharnaces. Soon the sky grew dark.  
 Loud roar'd the wind. The spirit of the night  
 Was troubled, to and fro the forest toss'd  
 Its arms, tormented, heaving like the waves  
 Of ocean labour'd by the storm. The moon  
 Hid her pale orb behind the angry clouds,  
 That mutter'd thunder, as they blacken'd round  
 The dark horizon. Then before the king  
 A grisly spectre stood, gloomy as night,  
 Gigantic; like a tower seen in the mist,  
 Or some lone pine, on Scotland's naked strand,  
 Descried at night fall, through the lurid dusk.



A crown of sedge the phantom seem'd to wear;  
And loose his vestments floated, like the clouds  
Round Mandal, when the sun on Norway sets,  
And black-wing'd tempests round the mountain lour.'

p. 38.

After the promulgation of his embassy, he sinks upon the stream,

' Like to the cloud of evening charged with rain,  
And prone descending on the founts of Syre,  
When o'er Norwegian hills the humid South  
Before him sends the shower, and from the heights  
Of lofty Lang spreads to the setting sun  
The rain-bow colours of his wings of mist.' p. 48.

Of the anger of Pharnaces when surrounded with the rebel satraps, it is said,

' Thus glares the rising orb of fiery Mars  
Athwart the gloom of night; and thus at sea  
Norwegian mariners, beyond the rocks  
Of Ferro, to the west, no harbour near,  
Eye the red planet, and forebode the storm.' p. 60.

Our last example shall be taken from the visit of Pharnaces to the cave of the Vola.

' Alone; but dauntless, down the drear descent  
The monarch journey'd; and the flames grown faint,  
That erst had burst eruptive from the gulph,  
Now flashing on the rocks in paly gleams,  
Like the sheet-light'nings of a summer eve,  
Play'd harmless o'er his head. Thus in the caves  
Of Hilgaland, the traveller explores,  
By dubious day, the lonely labyrinth;  
Or thus, way-faring, he pursues his path,  
Benighted, fearless, midst Norwegian Alps,  
What time he looks from frozen Glomen's banks,  
And sees, o'er Dofra, white and streamy lights  
Careering through the skies, and shedding pale  
A softer moonshine on the steeps above.' p. 87.

It will be seen, that however beautiful these similies may be in themselves, and however appropriately introduced, they are rather too much in the same latitude. There is likewise a *Miltonism* which occurs somewhat too frequently; once would sufficiently recal the original to mind.

' Pale was each ghastly face, *if face it were*,  
That each dim shadow show'd, but dimly seen.' p. 109.

' Ere nature or the universe itself  
Had being, ancient Chaos reign'd, if reign  
It might be call'd, when all was uproar dire.' p. 114.

These, however, are trifling defects, which are dwelt upon from no invidious motive. Were it necessary to adduce more passages to justify the praise we have bestowed upon this poem, we might quote the description of the mist, raised by the genius of Gotha, and dispersed by 'Brumal Bor,' immediately before the appearance of the fictitious Odin, or the reasoning by which Pharnaces, like all men who, conscious of wrong, seek rather for precedents in it, than for rules of equity, strives to delude himself into the belief that in the assumption of Divine honours, he only follows the example of other men, whose ambition had availed itself of the superstitious veneration of their people, as an instrument of perpetuating their fame among surrounding nations. The passages, however, which are the finest as connected with the main work, are generally those which suffer most from being detached from their connexion. We have already shewn sufficient cause for our opinion, that Sir William Drummond will, by the publication of his *Odin*, add the reputation of a poet to that which he has long enjoyed as a scholar, an antiquary, and a critic.

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Art. XII *Apostolical Preaching considered, in an Examination of St. Paul's Epistles.* By Rev. J. B. Sumner, M.A. Second Edition. 8vo. Price 9s. Hatchard. 1817.

**T**HE predominant influence of the Pulpit over the prevailing religious opinions of a nation, presents an impressive view of the importance of the preacher's office. It is in this the politician finds his reasons for subjecting the Church to the influence of the Crown; that so mighty a machine may, at least to a certain extent, be at the command of the civil magistrate, and be made to contribute to fortify, and if needs be, to extend legitimate authority. There is indeed occasion to fear, that such is the highest and most commanding aspect the Pulpit ever assumes in the apprehension of the generality of Statesmen. But the Christian Philanthropist must perceive that the very crowns and thrones to which the influence of the Christian Ministry may be made subservient, are frail, like their occupiers, and that if there are not higher and nobler considerations surrounding the ministry of the Gospel, and investing it with more important associations, it must sink into the insignificance of secular instrumentality, and partake in the common vanity and mortality of all the instruments, and materials, and objects of worldly greatness. He traces the importance of the preacher's office, in the magnitude and duration of those personal consequences which must result to the preacher himself, and to every one of his auditors; consequences which must be associated with the immortality of the soul, the com-



plexion of its eternal destiny, and the final manifestation of the favour, or the displeasure of the Deity. Here the faithful preacher of the Gospel must discern the great burden and weight of the ministerial function, and by such considerations alone will he be disposed to estimate the responsibility of his office. His true glory will be sought in an association with the Son of God, who, when he condescended to sustain the office of the Preacher, imparted to it a dignity which elevates it above all worldly employments, and connects it with his counsels, as an indispensable link in that chain of Divine dispensations, by which the souls of men are to be introduced to eternal life, and on which are suspended the glories of that higher economy. The authority of his office, he will not be content to derive from a lower mandate than that by which it was said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;" and which, by placing his ministry in immediate subjection to the Son of God, virtually prohibits the control of all worldly authorities.

Hence follows an inference of the greatest importance, and one which we are aware leads to widely different results in the apprehension of two considerable classes of real Christians. It must be obvious from the influence of the preacher's office over the public sentiment, the public character, and the eternal interests of a people, that it is a matter of no trifling concern to provide an adequate degree of sound, useful, religious instruction. But who are to be invested with the high character of curators of these fountains and streams of religious knowledge, which are to intersect the land in all directions, and communicate fertility to the moral soil?—We must confess that to us it seems that legislative interference was never more misplaced or more misused, than in venturing on this point to encroach upon that sacred and Divine province, which belongs exclusively to the Head of the Church. We have heard much of the wisdom of our Ancestors in entrusting this high authority to the magisterial or political head of the state, upon the ground that the superior wisdom of that head must be the best security for the adequate qualification of Christian teachers. But when we consider that kings and civil rulers are themselves to be the objects of ministerial instruction, and that this investiture with secular distinction does not raise them a single step in the school of Christianity, and that though they may have more worldly, it does not follow that they have an atom more of heavenly wisdom, than the meanest of their subjects whose teachers they claim the right of appointing, we are compelled to infer that they possess no exclusive endowments, and certainly no Divine authority, for assuming to themselves the care of the public instruction. Besides, when we review the syste-

matic, and formal, and intolerant procedure which such an arrangement requires, it seems to us to comport but very imperfectly, with those various shades of doctrine, practice, and discipline, which will inevitably prevail; which Christianity itself evidently admits among the most sincere of its professors, and which it were neither wise nor benevolent to wish to coerce into an unmeaning and unnatural uniformity. Christianity, as a personal system, admits of these shades; and why should the policy of kings seek to abridge them? If the Head of the Church qualifies and thrusts forth labourers into his harvest, differing in inferior points, but all faithfully labouring for him, and upon his authority, where is the wisdom or justice of that policy which raises one class above all the rest, and by giving them a charter of worldly influence and authority, virtually persecutes, and degrades, and rejects all the other classes of the Great Proprietor's labourers? Why should civil rulers at all interfere to elevate or depress any of *his* servants? Why should not the people be left to choose and to provide their own teachers, under the supreme guidance of the Head of the Church, who has promised to send them "pastors after his own heart?" There is one supreme Curator of public instruction, from whom the teachers receive both the matter and the authority of their Mission; and to Him an unshackled and unbiassed appeal should be open to all parties. Why should it be said, the people are inadequate judges of what sort of instruction is best for them? They are surely as competent judges of the contents of the sacred volume, as either king, lords, or commons. And, after all, every truly Protestant principle requires what we are advocating, that the only standard of preaching should be the Bible, and that the ultimate judges of the agreement of preaching with that standard, should be the people instructed. For the preacher himself has not the shadow of authority, when he advances beyond the contents of the sacred volume. Why then, we ask in addition, should laboured arguments be conducted to prove the agreement of certain classes of teachers with a human standard adopted in any particular nation by the civil rulers, when those standards may be as various as the meridians of the places at which they prevail? All such standards appear to us futile and delusive, and calculated to operate in no way but as impediments to the progress of "the truth as it is in Jesus." Why should one set of teachers be allowed to arrogate to themselves the epithet *authorized*, when they have only been touched by human,—we wish not to offend,—by episcopal hands? Why must the public veneration be attracted to them, and liberty of conscience be prostrated at their feet, when they have neither any moral or



any intellectual endowments which raise them above the ordinary level of educated men?

We have been led into these reflections, by a sentiment which has some hold of the mind of Mr. Sumner, though evidently, it does not so completely possess his understanding as it does those of many of his brethren. We saw a bulky pamphlet some time ago, entitled, "The Claims of the Church of England to be considered the only authorized interpreter of Scripture;" and this is the reiterated language of a vast majority of the clergy and of all the bishops; so that the pretension to infallibility seems to be the incurable taint which infects all endowed establishments.

Mr. Sumner insinuates, in his preface, that the Articles and Formularies are effectual promoters of soundness and uniformity of doctrine; and he makes it an inference much to the credit of those Articles, that a recent secession of several high-Calvinistic ministers from the communion of the Church, arose from the utter incompatibility of high Calvinism with those Articles. He says,

'I am well aware that I have been led to treat of some questions upon which it becomes us to inquire humbly, rather than to decide positively; neither is it probable that I should have ventured to enter upon them at all, had not my attention been forcibly directed, by accidental circumstances, towards that high tone of Calvinistic preaching which has recently ended in a partial secession from our Established Church, with whose tenets it was justly felt to be incompatible.' *Preface, p. 4.*

We really have seen no reason for ascribing the secession of those gentlemen to their high doctrinal views; for if they had entertained no other peculiarities of sentiment, they might, with a clear conscience, have retained their livings; for they certainly had as good ground to consider the Articles to be Calvinistic, as others have to consider them as being Arminian. But the tendency of Mr. Sumner's remark is completely counteracted by the fact, that a far greater number of high Calvinists, and men too of unblemished reputation, still continue to hold their benefices with a good conscience, without feeling the incompatibility of their doctrines with the Articles, Creeds, and Formularies of the Church. We do not consider it as fair in argument, to make so strong an inference from so weak a case, in favour of the full-faced opposition of the Articles to Calvinism. Moreover, Mr. S. has made this an occasion not merely of displaying the authorities 'and examples' which, as he conceives, discountenance and condemn a high tone of Calvinistic preaching,—the abuses of Calvinism,—but Calvinism *in toto*, from beginning to end; and this in no measured phrase, but sometimes with a more sweeping

breadth of epithet than was consistent with his professions of 'complete freedom from all party designs.'

Before we enter our protest against the doctrines and reasonings of this volume, as an accurate display of apostolical preaching, we think it but right to express our approbation of several redeeming qualities which appear throughout its disquisitions. In the first place; It displays considerable earnestness and weight of argument in urging the importance of ministerial proprieties of character, and the necessity of attention to the spiritual state of the individuals that compose the flock. On these points the Author has many interesting remarks. The leading principles which he lays down, have our warmest approbation. There is indeed room to wish that he had gone further in exhibiting what may strictly be denominated the importance of the preacher's office, the final consequence to the believer, and the unbeliever. His pages would have been much more impressive, if he had poured over them a few of those weighty and touching considerations which impressed the great Apostle's mind when he said, "To the one we are a savour of death unto death, and to the other the savour of life unto life. And who is sufficient for these things?"\* Through this deficiency, we are compelled to say, his treatise, in spite of its correctness and its piety, is cold, and wanting in pathos. Secondly; We have observed throughout the volume, an evident wish to draw the line between real personal religion, and a mere submission to the forms and ceremonies of the Church. The Author is aware there is a great distinction; he feels it; but at the same time his fear of diminishing or weakening the public belief in the mysterious virtue resident in the rites and ceremonies, exposes him in several places to considerable embarrassment, from which he escapes with unusual agility and generalship. Yet we venerate the piety which dictated the following remarks.

'However absurd the reliance on any virtue of the *opus operatum* may be, it is not sufficient to depend on such absurdity as preserving men from adopting it. The confidence in the rite of circumcision and other externals among the Jews of old, the abuse of baptism itself by some mistaken Christians in the 4th and 5th centuries, and of that ceremony, together with extreme unction, in the Romish Church, and the unwarrantable notions which (it is to be feared) are too often associated with the Lord's Supper still, are lamentable evidence of the facility with which mankind run away from realities to ceremonies, and content themselves with the shadow for the spiritual substance.' p. 161.

We may further remark, that this volume is for the most part a commendable exception to the general spirit in which many Refutations of Calvinism are written. It does allow that a Calvinist may be a faithful and useful minister;

\* II Cor. ii. 6.



and notwithstanding the fundamental and scriptural objections which Mr. S. has to urge against the tremendous and ingulphing syllogisms of Calvin, he is still willing to vault over the abyss which separates him from many of his brethren, to express his complacency in that fraternity of true Churchmanship, which all the members of an establishment so tenderly feel for each other. The Author admits, that in many places Calvinistic preaching has been attended with the best results. He might have brought into the account considerably more good, had he not passed over in entire silence the labours of Calvinistic ministers among Dissenters, who are a class, we presume, far more numerous than the Calvinistic ministers of the Church.

To the systematic theology of this volume, many, and we conceive unanswerable objections may be made. Upon the views of Apostolical Preaching which it contains, we now intend to offer a few cursory remarks.

The work consists of Nine Chapters.—1. On the Importance of the Preacher's Office.—2. On Predestination and Election.—3. On the Corruption of Human Nature.—4. On Grace.—5. On Justification.—6. On Sanctification.—7. On Personal Application of the Gospel.—8. On Intercourse with the World.—9. Conclusion.

After arguing in Chap. I. the importance of the preacher's office, by remarking, that it is a minister's concern to lead on his congregation to the inmost recesses of their religion, &c., he proceeds to meet, at great length, an objection which he supposes may be made to his remark. He says,

'I am aware that it may be objected, that the effect I attribute to preaching, supposes both a degree and an equality of talent, which it would be unreasonable to expect universally, in the members of any profession.' p. 7.

Now, we really apprehend this forms no real objection with any one; but it appears as if the ghost of another objection had appeared to the Author's imagination, which he ought to have acknowledged as far more weighty and important; the effect he has attributed to preaching, does indeed imply both a degree and an equality of *personal piety*, which our Author must have observed to be lamentably deficient among—we dare not say how large—a proportion of the Established Clergy. Very few persons would be found to charge the clergy with a deficiency of talent or of learning; but their *secularity*, their conformity to the pleasures of the world, their lack of those graces and qualifications in which their Divine Master excelled, their want of faithfulness and fervour, form an objection to be heard in every place and in every company. It would have been far more in the line of his subject, to have considered these objections, and then to have suggested remedies for the evils

to which they refer. He would then have found solid grounds for establishing what we consider as a very important inference from his general remarks, and one of great practical utility, that the Pastoral office ought to be entrusted only to those who are morally, and spiritually, as well as intellectually qualified to be teachers. All the disquisition upon the moderate quantum of talent that may suffice to discharge respectably the duties of the office, is the small dust of the balance compared with what he ought to have said on the indispensable pre-requisites of pure and fervent piety, and unreserved self-devotement to the duties of the sacred function. We think there is considerable attention paid to several very inferior parts of the ministerial office, while some of its higher departments are overlooked. There is also occasionally a want of continuity in the thoughts, and an inconclusiveness in many of his reasonings, that give an aspect of feebleness to many parts which should have been prominent and bold.

In recommending a different style of preaching for different places, or the making Sermons what Archbishop Secker called *local*, it appears to us that Mr. S. carries the remark to a dangerous extreme. He says,

‘It no more follows that the same sermon should be useful or suitable to all congregations, because all Christians have the same doctrines to believe and the same duties to learn; than that the same character is applicable to every individual because all mankind is endowed with the same nature, qualities, and passions. Two congregations can scarcely be found in precisely the same state of religious knowledge and advancement, or with the same capabilities of comprehending a method of treating a subject, and the language in which it is clothed. What is too elementary in one place, will be too profound in another; what might be safely taught to those who are accustomed to “compare spiritual things with spiritual,” might lead others into dangerous errors, who had little previous acquaintance with the gospel. The general rules of medicine are uniform, as well as the general principles of the human constitution, but that would be a dangerous practice, which did not modify itself according to each particular case.’ p. 13, 14.

We cannot quite accord with these views, nor admit the force of this reasoning. Human diseases have different causes, and affect different parts of the constitution; and on these accounts require a widely different mode of treatment; but any preacher who should imagine that the moral diseases he has to treat, have any other than a common source, or require an essentially different remedy, would err on the very threshold of his profession. We do admit that the remedies of the Gospel require skill in the mode of application, but this regards more particularly the vehicle of this administration. Discourses should be adapted to the capacities, and, in a certain degree, to the circumstances of a



congregation; but we are far from thinking that the chief peculiarities of gospel truth ought not to be introduced more or less into every sermon to every congregation. Discourses which are strictly local, and confined to an exposure of the prevailing sins or deficiencies of a congregation, take effect only by being occasional. If they are too frequent they become personal, and merely serve to keep the great topics of a gospel ministry in the shade; while the recurrence of reproof too often deprives it of effect. A preacher who should confine himself to those views of Christianity in which he might think his people deficient, would fall into a partial and isolated method of treating all subjects. Christianity would be presented only in fragments, when it ought to be viewed in all the majesty and perfection of a living temple.

We are far from admitting that a strictly local style of preaching will even be so useful, (and we could adduce abundance of facts to the point,) as that style of preaching which consists in a full, fair, and repeated display of the truth in its most sublime and most important parts; and we are convinced that the more closely St. Paul is imitated in his devout resolution, the more success will follow the ordinance of preaching: "I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified."\* The points of moral resemblance among all congregations are so numerous and so important, and the points of dissimilarity so trivial, that the preacher has received no commission to alter his message in form or substance when he changes his station. The bulk of the hearers, we presume, in most parishes, will be found wicked, worldly people, who must be warned to flee from the wrath to come. The necessity of repentance, the depravity of human nature, and the importance of faith in the sacrifice of the Redeemer, are points of universal interest, and should therefore form the most usual topics of public instruction. And it is our opinion that the locality of sermons should consist chiefly in the style and the manner of treating the subject: it must be observed that whether among the philosophers of the Areopagus, the prisoners at Rome, or the elders of the church at Ephesus, St. Paul ceased not to teach and preach Jesus and the Resurrection.

We meet with an assumption at page 18, which appears to us totally unfounded, and which, from the importance the Author attaches to it, demands a few observations. 'In the first place, it is undeniable that there does exist a difference between the nature of a church where Christianity is the religion of a sect, and where it is the religion of a nation.' p. 18.

Now we object to the very principle of this remark, and

\* 1 Cor. ii. 2.

deny in *toto* what he assumes as undeniable. Most divines have maintained, and we think upon scriptural ground, that the *Church of Christ* admits of no change in its nature or constitution, whether it be the religion of a sect or of a nation. We are perfectly at a loss to conceive on what data the Author would expect his principle to be conceded, either by us as Dissenters, or by any class of Protestants. We are confident he has no scriptural authority for his assumption. A mind which takes its conceptions of the nature of a church, from the New Testament, cannot surely consider it as any thing but a voluntary society, and though there is a loose sense in which it is said, that all who are baptized belong to the external church, yet we conceive they ought rather to be said to belong only to a profession, for until they have individually and voluntarily united themselves to a Christian Society, they are no part, even of the visible church. No man can rationally be accounted a member of a society against his will; many who have received infant baptism, disbelieve Christianity itself; and shall infidels and deists against their will be denominated members of the Church of Christ, because they are subjects of a king who has made Christianity the religion of the nation? Churches may constitute themselves Christian churches, nominally, upon other principles than those which prevailed in the first Churches, but the nature of Christ's Church remains like himself, "the same yesterday, to day, and for ever." A church that is founded on any other basis than the authority of Christ, or that proceeds on any other principle than that of voluntary membership, is so far unchristian, not to say anti-Christian; yet it may possess innumerable Christians in it, while it is not founded, as a society, on Christian principles. A church founded by Act of Parliament, and counting all the nation its members, and imposing by statute what is not imposed by the Gospel, may be a State Church, a National Church, a Parliamentary Church, a Monarchical Church, but in its principle it is not the Church of Christ; and on these accounts, we maintain that it forfeits its claim as a society, when it departs from the simplicity of that principle on which the primitive assemblies of true believers were denominated the Churches of Christ. There is then no difference in the nature of a Church, whether at Jerusalem, at Rome, or at London, or whether Christianity is contemplated as the religion of a nation, or the religion of a sect. As far as revelation is concerned, we are not aware that any difference is admitted, and as far as legal authorities are superadded, we abjure them all, and conceive every consistent Protestant is bound to do the same. But we apprehend the Author has been led into this error, by his habit of considering the congregation and the Church as identical. There is a dif-



ference in the external circumstances of a congregation when Christianity is the religion of a nation, and when it is the religion of a sect. This seems to us to be what the Author should have said; or else, he should have proved the identity of congregation and Church. The notion of a National Church has engendered in his mind this confusion, and it is the same notion that often renders his reasonings superficial and futile, and his divinity confused and unscriptural. At page 21, he says,

‘It must be considered, therefore, as a fact which admits of no dispute, that in a modern congregation there is much more chance of insincere profession of the faith and of eventual departure from it. This however is an accidental, not an essential difference; the resemblance on the other hand is essential, that all have alike professed “one Lord, one faith, one baptism.” The measure of grace actually enjoyed, and consequently the character of the persons, may vary in every imaginable degree; but the fundamental resemblance remains, that all have been called to justification through Jesus Christ, and made partakers of the covenant of grace.’ p. 21.

We can see no ground for his tracing this essential resemblance between the churches of first Christians, all of whom personally professed, and by their lives proved, their faith in Christ; and a modern congregation, with regard to many of whom it is always true, that they do not make pretensions to be regenerated characters, a small part of whom, we presume, in most parish Churches ever attend the Lord’s supper, and certainly the majority of whom, cannot in Scriptural language be denominated “the called of God in Christ,” or be said to be “partakers of the covenant of grace.” It is not just to charge departure from the faith upon those who never even partook of the Lord’s supper; for the indispensable sign of a visible profession is wanting in them. And with regard to the greater chance of eventual departure from the faith, in those that insincerely profess it, the true Church of Christ may say with the Apostle; “They went out from us because they were “not of us, for had they been of us they would no doubt have “continued with us.” There is then no greater chance of departure from the true faith now than formerly; that is there is no chance at all.

We pass on to offer a few strictures upon only two other passages in the first chapter, the importance of the subject of which, will, we trust, plead our apology for the length to which our animadversions have extended. At page 28, we read,

‘Cases indeed may occur, in which it may rather be a minister’s business to convert, than to enlighten and inform; where he is called upon to take the part of a missionary, to declare a revelation, instead of that of a guide, to lead in the right way of truth those who are already in the road.’ p. 28.

We are grieved to see a sentiment which should have had the utmost prominence in a treatise on the importance of the preacher's office, stated in so infirm a shape. The portraiture the Author has drawn of those to whom it will be necessary to preach the doctrine of *conversion*, is indeed admirable; but why should it be insinuated that there is only a faint probability of the occurrence of such cases? Is there a parish throughout the kingdom, in which the doctrine is not necessary to be often taught? And why should it be said, that 'cases indeed may occur,' when it ought to have been said, that in every place the preacher will find urgent need for testifying "repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." It is indeed grievous to behold a sentiment which pervades the Scripture, so veiled and weakened; to see in a sketch of Apostolic preaching, a point of so much importance, and which one would have expected to find in the very centre of all the light, and colouring, and description, which the spiritual artist could throw into his picture; thus chastened down and thrown into the back ground. When a minister resides in the midst of a population, one half of whom never enter a place of worship of any kind, while one half of those who do, are living "according to the course of the world," shall he be told so very calmly, 'cases indeed may occur in which it may rather be your business to convert than to enlighten and improve?' This appears to us a very perilous weakening of the Gospel minister's commission, and a strong evidence of the injurious prejudices under which the Author's mind is oppressed. We think, that with his heart, if he had stood in any other relation to the people of this country, than that of a minister of the National Church, he would have seen that these cases, which he now represents as only probable, are certain, and instead of being few, are by far the more numerous in most towns, and in most congregations.

(To be concluded in the next Number.)



## ART. XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

\* \* *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.*

Mr. J. Snelgar, of Hampstead, is printing a neat impression of Four Discourses on the Divinity of Christ: by the late Rev. J. Harvey, M.A. of Weston Flavel.

In the press, The Principles of Diagnosis. By Marshall Hall, M.D. &c. This work is founded entirely upon the External Appearances of morbid affection. It embraces, 1. A view of the countenance and attitude of Patients, inasmuch as they are plainly characteristic of Diseases. 2. The Symptoms of Diseases considered in their Modifications, and in relation to Particular affections. 3. A Diagnostic Arrangement of Diseases. And lastly, their Diagnostics. A part of this work will appear in July.

Preparing for publication, and will be shortly ready, a little volume, entitled Plurality of Worlds, or some remarks, Philosophical and Critical, in a series of letters to a friend, occasioned by the late Discourses on the Christian Revelation, viewed in connection with the Modern Astronomy, as published by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers.

Mr. George Ogg, of Plymouth, has just published a Lecture which was read in the Plymouth Institution on the Prevention and cure of Dry Rot in Ships of War.

Speedily will be published, Mandeville, a Domestic Story of the Seventeenth Century in England. By William Godwin, "Author of Caleb Williams." In Three Volumes 12mo.

Also, Rob Roy. By the Author of Waverley, &c. Three volumes.

In the press, Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary, with some account of Vienna during the Congress. By Richard Bright, M.D. One Volume 4to. With Engravings.

In the press, A Summary of the Law relating to the Granting New Trials in Civil Suits by Courts of Justice in England. By John Peter Grant, Esq. 8vo.

Early in July will be published, an Introduction to English Composition and

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Observations on the Canonical Scriptures, by Mary Cornwallis, are printing in four octavo volumes.

Dr. Nance is preparing a second volume of Sermons on Practical Subjects.

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An Encyclopædia Metropolitana, or Universal Dictionary of Knowledge, on an original plan, is in preparation; it will form 24 vols. 4to. with a 25th of index, and be published in half-volumes.

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Prof. Paxton, of Edinburgh, proposes

to publish in three octavo volumes, the Holy Scriptures Illustrated; from the geography of the east, from natural history, and from the customs and manners of ancient and modern nations.

Memoirs, with a Selection from the Correspondence and other unpublished writings of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton, are printing in two crown 8vo. vols.

The Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. I. is printing in quarto.

The Rev. J. Nightingale will soon publish, the History and Antiquities of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, with several engravings by Mr. W. G. Moss.

#### Art. XIV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

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